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THE ASIATIC REVIEW

JULY, 1947

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

INDIA: THE TRANSFER AND AFTER

BY SIR FREDERICK JAMES, O.B.E.

ONE of the most important sections of the Economic Research Department in large business houses today is that which deals with forecasting. Business men are no longer content with a competent analysis of current developments; they are anxious to have a glimpse, however faint, of the course of future events, and their effect upon their business. Indeed, forecasting has now assumed such an important place in the technique of business management that some economists believe that its intelligent use can prevent the recurrence of a depression such as that of 1929, which had many catastrophic economic and political consequences.

In the political world, forecasting is much more hazardous owing to the vagaries of human nature, and to attempt to forecast developments in India may be regarded as positively foolish. But I believe it may be more helpful, even at this stage, to look forward rather than to look back; to attempt to appraise probable developments than to regard regretfully the days that are past; or sadly to compare the peace and security of the days of British supremacy with the bloodshed and turmoil which are now marking its sudden passing.

I have no inside tips with which to enrich the speculator or encourage the gambler. I have learned from experience in India that neither the unrestrained optimist nor the unrelieved pessimist is usually right, and that plans and systems which we devise for that country, whether constitutional or otherwise, are either seldom accepted or, even if they are, work out in a manner never expected or intended.

In attempting to identify tendencies I am making certain assumptions:

- (a) That the transfer of power to India will, in fact, have been effected by June, 1948;
- (b) That power will be transferred to two or more independent authorities, or alternatively to a transitional central authority charged with the task of devolving power to independent units and liquidating itself within a stated time;
- (c) That in the event of partition the largest unit, Hindustan, will choose to be independent in status and republican in form, but that one or more of the smaller units may opt to remain in the Commonwealth as a Dominion;
- (d) That of the units so formed, Hindustan, which will consist of the Congress-controlled Provinces and certain Hindu States, will be the strongest financially and industrially and the most highly centralized, and that one of the other units, Pakistan, will consist of predominantly Muslim areas.

DEFENCE

The partition of India will have a profound effect upon her defence and foreign affairs policy unless the units of ~~the Indian continent reach prior~~ agreement on the

pooling of their land, air and sea forces, and close consultation on foreign affairs. Usually, however, small, young and comparatively weak nations are the most jealous of their independent status. It is probable, therefore, that partition will mean that each separate State will wish to raise, finance and control its own defence forces. This for Hindustan would not present great difficulty. But the other unit or units would be faced with grave financial difficulties which might lead them either to enter into an agreement with Hindustan, or to seek the aid which membership of the British Commonwealth still provides in these matters.

From this obvious dilemma a tripartite external defence agreement between Britain, Pakistan and Hindustan would provide a more satisfactory escape. The division of the armed forces between those needed for external defence—*i.e.*, external to India, and those for internal security and inter-State defence, would not be so difficult as a division of the present Indian Navy, Army and Air Forces on communal lines.

The armed forces of an independent State in India will not, of course, be a Commonwealth and Empire asset. This will have a profound effect upon Empire manpower resources in the event of war, and upon the use of India as a strategic and supply base. On the other hand, if the Indian continent consists of a Dominion or Dominions and independent States it would present embarrassing problems, but offer useful advantages to the Commonwealth. Just as part of Ireland was neutral in the last war, so part of India may be neutral in the next, under these circumstances.

The division of the armed forces between various States in a partitioned India will be a difficult, delicate, but possibly necessary transaction.

EXTERNAL RELATIONS

In foreign affairs India, through her sovereign States or dominions, will assert her independence by breaking away as far as possible from traditional British policy, of which she has been quiescent partner for so long. If India were united she would probably succeed in exercising a powerful influence in the U.N.O. and on her neighbours in the East. A partitioned India will lose in influence and will not be able to challenge the position of China as one of the Great Powers.

India's representatives abroad have already expressed their determination not to identify their country with any particular bloc, whether Anglo-Saxon or otherwise, but at the recent Inter-Asian Conference in Delhi there was an overt attempt on the part of the Indian delegation to claim for their country the leadership of greater Asia. This was viewed without enthusiasm by China and with marked distrust by the smaller countries of South-East Asia, such as Burma, Malaya and Ceylon, who fear, with some justification, Indian economic penetration. These tendencies will develop more strongly when India has achieved her independence and chalks out her own foreign policies.

There is no doubt that her present disorders and divisions weaken India's claim to leadership in the East, and even a strong and united Hindustan will not command the same authority as a union of India. In the international sphere China presents a united front and is counted as one of the big powers. By her election to the U.N.O. Committee of Investigation on Palestine it is clear that India is already classed as one of the medium or smaller, but interested, powers. It is not difficult to see in these developments future trends.

If there are Dominions in India they will of course look to the Commonwealth for support and co-operation in many matters, though Pakistan will probably identify itself fairly closely with the States of the Arab League. Pakistan may find more favour with the Soviet Union than Hindustan, where the Hindu caste system, in spite of the decision of the Constitutional Assembly to abolish untouchability completely in its declaration of fundamental rights, will continue for many years—a system so contrary to Soviet ideals and policies. Moreover, in Hindustan the inequalities of wealth still exceed anything now seen in Britain and most European countries, let alone Russia. Therefore, if Mrs. Pandit were to become Ambassador of Hindustan to Russia, she will doubtless fascinate many in Moscow by her charm and ability, yet she might feel from time to time a breath of Arctic coldness.

What is likely to be common to the new Indian States is that with the disappearance of British Imperialism there will be a growing fear of dollar imperialism, and a deep distrust of Soviet expansionism. The former has already resulted in a kindlier eye being turned to this country; and the latter is not unconnected with the attitude of most administrations in India, even today, to the Communist organization.

PAKISTAN

The emergence of Pakistan assumes that the North-West Frontier Province will be a part of it, with a predominantly Muslim League Government. This would ensure a powerful barrier of Muslim States from the north of India to the Dardanelles. New agreements between Afghanistan and Pakistan may well modify considerably present territorial boundaries, and the position of the independent tribes beyond the Khyber Pass may be guaranteed by international treaty. Islam is a powerful binding force, and the removal of the fear of Congress and Hindu domination in the north-west will have increasing effect with the passage of time. If Pakistan opts to remain within the Commonwealth a further support to the security of India's land frontiers will be secured.

What about the relations between these assumed States in India? The central fact will be the economic and industrial supremacy of Hindustan, pulsating with vigorous national life and with more than a touch of imperialism, if one is to judge by the declared attitude of many young Hindu nationalists. The relations between the newly formed units will be difficult and delicate for some time, until present suspicions have been allayed and each has firmly established itself in independent status and government.

Much will depend upon the attitude of Hindustan. Will it attempt to dominate its less powerful neighbours by using the arts and devices of pressure politics, with which some of its leaders are so well acquainted? It will be a temptation. The very removal from her territories of large Muslim populations may tip the scale in favour of a more aggressive policy, particularly towards such neighbours as a politically dubious Dominion like Hyderabad, or an economically vulnerable and industrially dependent kingdom like Travancore. Hindustan may be able to do much for her economically weaker neighbour Pakistan. To help generously would be a mark of greatness and statesmanship. It remains to be seen if that will be possible in view of all that is happening today.

It must also be remembered that Pakistan will have powerful friends in the Middle East. That, and possible membership of the British Commonwealth may, to some extent, offset her initial economic weakness.

The establishment of Pakistan will probably mean two developments of considerable social and economic importance. In the first place many of the scheduled castes will be tempted by the democratic faith of Islam and the protection of Muslim rule in Pakistan to improve their social and economic status by becoming Muhammadan. In the second place there will be a considerable drift of Muhammadan population from areas in Hindustan to Pakistan, and possibly of Hindu population from Pakistan to Hindustan. Whether official transfers will take place is another matter, but I have no doubt that there will be a large-scale voluntary drift in both directions.

CHANGING SYMBOLS

Let me turn to some more domestic and perhaps less important matters. The main symbols of independence are a national flag, a national anthem, separate coinage and postage stamps. National flags which will replace the Union Jack will be easier to devise perhaps for a partitioned than a united India. I do not know what will be the National Anthem of Pakistan, but it will, I hope, be more vigorous and tuneful to Western ears than the indeterminate and mournful *Bande Mataram*. The King's head will disappear from Indian coinage and postage stamps, and presumably each separate State will have its own die. The postage stamps of India have never been noted for their artistic quality or variety. And the stamp collector can look forward to many new issues, the severe head of His Majesty being replaced no doubt

by national symbols and exhortations, scenes of national activities and the heads of the national leaders.

There is already a tendency to remove visual evidence of British rule, and this will develop rapidly when independence comes. Streets and public places will be re-named and statues replaced. Already Madras is removing Mr. Churchill's portraits from all Government buildings, and I expect that the statues of British Viceroys will be removed from the precincts of the Secretariat and Council House in New Delhi. Many equestrian statues of military leaders of doubtful artistic merit will also disappear from India's parks and public places. These changes, though spectacular, are not really important in themselves. They are merely symbols of change, such as the desire expressed recently to abolish the word "Asiatic" as bearing the stigma of inferiority.

THE BRITISH IN INDEPENDENT INDIA

The position of the British citizen in an independent India has recently been referred to in the *Economist*. No longer will his passport be issued in the name of the Governor-General; no longer will he be protected by statute against discrimination; no longer will he be identified, not always to his advantage, with the ruling power; no longer will he possess a vote or be represented in the Legislatures. He will be a foreigner in law and status and will look for guidance and support in doubt or difficulty to his Ambassador or High Commissioner. His safety, happiness and prosperity in the country will depend in the main upon the goodwill of the Government and people of India and upon his own character and ability.

Fortunately there are already signs that anti-British feeling, much of it political, not personal, is disappearing, and that the British community is now receiving a measure of cordial goodwill that was conspicuously absent eighteen months ago. I believe that goodwill will increase and that the friendship of Britain will count for more in an independent India than has been the case for many years in the past. For those who go to India to serve or do business everything will depend upon their quality, competence, understanding and temper. They will find a knowledge of one of the Indian languages much more necessary than it may have been in the past.

TRADE RELATIONS

We may assume that agreement between the United Kingdom and the new Indian States, covering commercial relations and tariff policies, will replace present agreements with the Government of India. The Indians will require capital goods, and particularly plant and machinery for power, agriculture and industrial development for many years, and will restrict the import of consumer goods to those which are essential or which are not manufactured or are not likely to be manufactured in India. Indeed, this policy is already being implemented.

The new States in India are likely to have much the same views about the sterling balances, and it is one of the few subjects on which purely communal views are not held. India will fight very hard to prevent or limit scaling down, but she knows that neither disagreement nor repudiation will help her or anyone. I hope that agreement may be reached, even with the present provisional Government, for the division of these obligations between the new States will be a very difficult transaction.

Subject to these considerations and to the ability to compete with others in price and delivery dates, British trade with India should increase and develop over a wide field of commodities, but India will have to subordinate everything to the rapid development of her power, agricultural production and industrial activity.

British business established in India will continue to have a useful, though restricted, place in the Indian economy of the future. Public utilities will be taken over or closely controlled by the State, and steps will be taken to restrict the drain from India of income derived from capital invested in India. The tendency in all the new States, as indeed throughout the East, will be to limit, by legislation or taxation, business profits to a fairly strict maximum. Hindustan will probably be shyer of foreign capital than Pakistan, which will need more than she can raise internally for

her immediate development, but in both cases the Governments are likely to insist upon Indian control and, where Indian capital is available, upon foreign participation being confined to technical service and advice.

INDUSTRIAL ADVANCES

A Muslim Government is likely to pursue a more radical socialistic policy than the Government of Hindustan, in whose territories capitalism is still powerful and can influence, though not deflect, policies. The absence of powerful industrial enterprises in Pakistan may encourage State control and nationalization, but the powerful Muslim landed interests in the north-west will probably oppose the nationalization of land now advocated by so many of the younger generation, and an agrarian struggle there is not unlikely.

In short, as in the West so in the East, the field for private enterprise is rapidly diminishing. Capitalists will, of course, fight against this tendency and finally co-operate with the inevitable, but their rearguard action will probably be tougher and last longer in Hindustan than elsewhere.

I believe that once the communal struggle has ended, whether by partition or by agreement, development in industry, agriculture, education, communications and health will be far more rapid. Freed from the clogging effect of communal suspicion and rivalries, the new administrations will move much faster. There will also be a certain healthy rivalry between the neighbouring Governments, each anxious to show itself superior in every way to the other.

Education is likely to take a more definitely Islamic or Hindu colour, and the history and geography books of the national schools will be largely rewritten. Throughout Hindustan the Mutiny will be known as the First War of Independence and the disturbances of 1942 as the second. Political freedom will, I hope and believe, encourage a cultural and artistic renaissance, of which signs are already visible. The sublimation or solution of the Hindu-Muslim quarrel will release many constructive forces which at present are engrossed in or enveloped by controversy and strife.

THE STANDARD OF LIVING

A detached observer should have no regrets about the course of events. It is true that the partition or fragmentation of India may reduce her power and influence in world councils. But power is not everything, and perhaps smaller and contented national units are to be preferred to a greater but divided and discontented continental power.

While partition or the birth of more than one nation in the Indian continent may be inevitable, a transfer of power to these separate units will still leave untouched the essential problem of raising the standard of living of the four hundred million people involved. It is from this aspect that the rising tide of communism in India should not escape our attention. Communal conflict will, I believe, gradually disappear or lessen. But communism will remain. As a doctrine it has no communal boundaries and no national limits. It thrives upon unrest and disorder, hunger and unemployment. In an uncertain world it offers certainty; to the hungry it offers food; and to many in India who in their hearts abhor its vivisection it will still offer the restoration of the united India and power through revolutionary action. With its imminent and constant threat the new Governments will be faced; if they drive the movement underground it will become a danger not only to their stability but to their very existence. While therefore the present communal disorders may become an ugly thing of the past after June, 1948, communism will take their place as the first enemy of stability and progressive evolution.

THE CHANGING EAST

Greatly daring, I have attempted to catch glimpses of future tendencies in India. They must, I fear, be disappointing to an audience with so much experience of India. But I agreed to make the attempt for two reasons, in addition to the reason mentioned at the beginning of this paper.

First, I wish to emphasize that the changes now taking place in India are only

a part, though an important part, of the same process throughout the East, and particularly in the countries that have been dominated by Western Powers. There has been, since the war, a psychological revolution in the attitude of these countries towards the West. They have become awake, adventurous and aggressive in their social and national consciousness. Their leaders are planning and doing things that to many in the West must seem rash, baffling, foolish, suicidal and ungrateful. But they are determined to walk unaided in a difficult world, and the West can no longer control them.

India must be seen against that background, and though we may approach her future with anxiety we should be ready to stand by the new States that will emerge, as friends, and, if required, as counsellors, after control and responsibility have finally passed from our hands. India's future will still mean much to Britain. Indeed, perhaps the finest chapter in our relations with that wonderful country is about to be opened.

DIFFICULTIES AND DANGERS

In the second place, I emphasize the stupendous nature of the great operation that is now developing in India. We express surprise, horror and disgust at the struggle for power which is now proceeding between communities and principalities in India, with such turmoil and bloodshed. But surely it was hardly to be expected that the replacement of British sovereignty exercised with impartial effectiveness for nearly one hundred years, by one or more Indian authorities, could be carried out without some dislocation and disorder, affecting as it does the foundations of internal security and peace. And when it is remembered that it concerns a huge continent, divided into British Indian Provinces and Indian States, in which dwell four hundred million people, with local and religious loyalties and attachments, the difficulties and dangers of the change are perhaps better appreciated.

Moreover, it is well also to remember that those difficulties and dangers have been increased by the tardy advance in the last twenty-six years towards the constitutional responsibility and unity of the Government of India. How much easier it would have been if there were in existence today a Federal Government of India, as provided in the Government of India Act of 1935, if the principal control services were wholly or overwhelmingly Indian, if the Indian Armed Forces had been organized on a more truly national basis.

I do not attempt to apportion responsibility for this, but refer to these matters to show how much easier the final transfer of power might have been. Then, again, though we have created an administrative and political unity in India, we have not developed among her people a sense of national unity, except perhaps in opposition to the continuance of our rule. Perhaps it was beyond the power of any external power; but the absence of national unity makes our task more difficult. To attribute therefore the present difficulties and disorders in India solely to the obstinacies and irresponsibilities of her leaders is unfair to them and ignores the history of past years.

For these and other reasons we should not expect an easy or effortless transfer. The transition period will be difficult, and its disturbing and unsettling effect may continue well beyond June, 1948.

INDIA'S COLLECTIVE PERSONALITY

It may be asked, How long will all this go on? How long will the people of India suffer the penalties of communal strife? Will India become, in Mr. Churchill's words, "a rubble heap, a charnel house, a breeding ground of pestilence and hate"? It is sometimes forgotten that comparative peace still reigns over vast areas of India, though even outside the localities where riots and pogroms occur there is growing unsettlement and uneasiness. It would be sad if India squandered her new-found freedom in communal feuds or in the erection of new barriers to communication and commerce, or in the building of military fortifications, tariff walls and mountains of passport hindrances and formalities. I do not believe that she will fall into Europe's grosser errors. Once her communities feel secure from domination by one another, and political partition or fragmentation seems to be the only way—once their fears are allayed, their ambition to preserve and protect their way of life and

culture is sated, and the new States feel the satisfaction of security, then I believe will come from common need and interest, not from external compulsion, a movement for union. Sooner or later, after June, 1948, the collective personality of India will assert itself, and, while preserving and protecting its diverse and separate elements, will bring to life a union which will enable Indian industry and genius to make its unique contribution to the peace, progress and stability of the world.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Tuesday, May 20, 1947, when Sir FREDERICK JAMES, O.B.E., read a paper on "India: The Transfer and After."

LORD CHORLEY, who presided, said that there was nothing more valuable than to think about what was going to happen in the future in India and the best way of maintaining the relationship of Britain and India on a happy footing. Sir Frederick James was well qualified to speak on this subject. His social work and business career in India were of long standing; for twenty-five years or more also he had been a member of the Central Legislative Council, and for a large part of that time he was leader of the British members of the Council.

Sir FREDERICK JAMES, before reading his paper, said that he had been persuaded into speaking of the future by Sir Frank Brown, the Hon. Secretary, than whom no one in London today had done more over a long series of years to promote and increase friendship between India and this country.

After the paper had been read,

The CHAIRMAN said that Sir Frederick James's knowledge of India was evident in everything he had said. One could not always expect, even from a man with a great knowledge of India, to have an address like this which went so deeply to the roots of the matter, and was so discriminating and so clear in its analysis of many of the problems, and, moreover, so courageous in facing the difficulties, and so provocative in many of its statements. Many of the thoughts which appeared in the paper would furnish topics for future discussions. The more attention they gave to these matters the better it would be for them and for India. He himself would not as a mere politician dare to follow him in many of his prophecies as to constitutional development and the political future. His remarks about Communism he had found fascinating, and his thought on the possible Dominion status of India or parts of India were also of great interest. But there were one or two things he would like to take the opportunity of saying.

First of all, he wanted to emphasize the importance of looking ahead in a really helpful way, with a measured optimism, taking account of the difficulties of the situation. Sir Frederick had said that perhaps the finest chapter in the relations between that wonderful country and ourselves was about to open. There was very much to be said for that prediction. During the short time he himself was out in India with the Parliamentary delegation he could not help feeling the immense personal friendship which Indians of all classes and communities had for British people, however much political animosity might lie in the rear. He hoped that over the next months and years a great deal more would be done, particularly in this country, to emphasize that. Many problems which would arise and were already arising were only going to be solved by means of very hard work and goodwill on our part and between the communities in India.

The partition which seemed to be more or less accepted was obviously going to give rise to much greater problems. It was to be hoped that if ever separation took place some means would be found of establishing a close relation between the new

States in India. One had only to think of the difficulties of partitioning the Indian Army, that magnificent weapon of defence which had been built up over many years. The problem of breaking it up was obviously difficult. Again, India had been, in fact, a free trade area over a long period, and industry had grown up according to demand and natural resources. To break up a system of that kind which had grown up all these years was obviously going to be a matter of great difficulty, and would call for all the goodwill and intelligence and planning which the leaders could bring to it. At the moment the struggle for power was so violent that the necessary thought and energy perhaps could not be given to the solution of these problems; but there was a great deal to be said for the view expressed by Sir Frederick that when the matter was finally settled the necessary foresight, energy, and determination in handling these problems would not be lacking.

One of the features of the paper which he particularly liked was its emphasis on the need for raising the standard of living. No Englishman going to India for the first time could fail to be impressed by the very low standard of living which existed over so much of that continent, and this in a country with enormous natural resources. He was quite sure that the standard of living in India could be raised substantially over a generation or so, especially with the modern inventions now at the disposal of Indians. That would require organized effort and capital resources, and he hoped that the Indian leaders would not take quite the course Sir Frederick had suggested that they might, of rejecting foreign capital. If they were going to have their standard of living raised by the exploitation of hydro-electric schemes and the like they would have to get more capital than was at their disposal, and, despite what had been said about America, it seemed as if some capital would have to be raised there. Britain, he hoped, would be able to provide, if not capital, a good deal of technical assistance. We had made great contributions to the business life of India; he had been rather touched by meeting so many English business men out there whose connection with India went back for generations. In conclusion, he said that he sometimes felt that Indian leaders hardly realized how warm a place in the hearts of so many British people India had. They had come to regard India as a second home, and loved it only less—and not very much less—than England. On such a sentiment so much could be built up.

Mr. C. J. PALIWAL, of Delhi, said that India was facing the future with optimism and hope. Unfortunately so often they found in the Press only the bad news; the good news was not given. Was it possible that there was something which pleased the British ear and heart when bad things were said of India? He distrusted some of the ideas at work both in his country and in Great Britain concerning the future of India. He wondered whether Sir Frederick James would enter upon the question whether the controversies were communal or religious in character.

Mr. P. G. PATIL was in substantial agreement with Mr. Paliwal. His imagination staggered at what might have happened in India had it not been for the restraining influence of Gandhi and other leaders.

Sir LANCELOT GRAHAM said that he had had the pleasure of being associated with Sir Frederick James for a number of years in India. He had seen his work in the Central Indian Legislature, and was well aware of the high esteem in which he was held by politicians on both sides of the House. He had seen real gratitude on the part of Indian politicians for the European group. They were a moderating influence between the more extreme parties. If goodwill was essential in the past it would be equally essential in the future. Whether the last speaker was correct in saying, as he had understood him, that the British were becoming more and more unpopular was open to question. He had received many communications from India, and the general conclusion he had reached was that at no time in the history of the two nations—he said two nations, not three or four—had feelings really been better, because the Indians were convinced that we were going to give them an opportunity of running their own affairs. A very great opportunity was opening up for India. It was beyond dispute that the ill-will working up at the present moment in India was not between

the British on the one hand and Hindus and Muslims united on the other. At no time had there been more goodwill towards the British than there was now. That was not a matter on which he congratulated himself, because he wanted to see goodwill everywhere, and he and all of them who had had their training in India had been taught to regard all Indians as potentially if not actually members of one nation. We could never stand for Pakistan. He had been intimately connected with political movements in India. Mr. Jinnah was a man with whom he worked personally for many years, a man for whom he had admiration and affection, although convinced that he was leading his people along a wrong path. If they went for Pakistan now and for Hindustan they were going on the wrong path, and they would have to go back again some time. There were, he believed, in India vast numbers of Indians who had not the least idea of the dangers of the situation, vast numbers who did not even believe that anything was going to happen. He read a letter which he had received from India. The writer said that he had been talking to a young man from Sind—not so very young, perhaps thirty-five—who was on a deputation from the Labour Department of his Province, studying industrial and labour organizations generally, obviously a very advanced type. The writer asked him various questions, amongst other things what was going to become of that very nice Government House in Karachi and how they got on with the Governor. "Very well indeed," he replied, "very nice man." "How will you get on without a British Governor in Karachi?" he was asked, and he replied, "Why should we be without a British Governor? We cannot get on without him." He was perfectly honest, but just did not realize what was going to happen. It was really alarming that there was a vast number of Indians in like case who did not realize that we were on our way out of India. What was going to happen in Baluchistan? What had Pakistan to do with Baluchistan, where Quetta was a military station built up by the British on territory leased from the Khan of Kalat? Most of the local zamindars did not want the British to leave, and he was told that the Khan of Kalat was not at all happy about things. He found himself strongly on the side of Sir Frederick James when he spoke of the way—mostly the painful way—that India had got to tread by her own sad self, but the British, her oldest friends, wanted her to know that they were by her side to lend her a helping hand if ever she asked for it.

Mr. P. D. SAGGI said that exception might be taken by every Indian to certain conclusions Sir Frederick James had drawn. Islam was a very progressive religion, but to draw the conclusion that as a result of Pakistan some of the castes might wish to embrace Islam was not warranted. Another conclusion that Pakistan would remain within the Commonwealth could not be borne out by present tendencies. A few years ago Mr. Jinnah was asked by an Associated Press reporter whether Pakistan would remain within the Commonwealth. His reply was, "We want complete independence." To say that they would remain within the Commonwealth was at least premature. A third conclusion was that trade relations between Great Britain and India would go on. He agreed that there was much goodwill between the two countries, and although certain limitations would be put on import of consumer goods, India would require capital goods to raise her standard of living. Indian leaders were not responsible for the communal riots in the country today. It was not possible to say who was responsible, but certain forces were working behind the scenes. It might be that the leaders had stumbled and made mistakes, but he believed that, given a chance, they will come together.

SIR FREDERICK JAMES said that there was not a great deal to which he need make a detailed reply. Mr. Paliwal seemed to wish to invite him to go into the question of whether these controversies were communal or religious in character, but he must decline to accept his invitation, because in his paper he took the position as he saw it today, and was trying to pierce the future, to give glimpses of the tendencies which he thought would arise in India when India achieved her independence. One speaker had suggested that the British were becoming more unpopular in India. In his view they were becoming more popular. One gentleman had referred to the removal of statues and so forth, and suggested that that was an evidence of anti-

British feeling. He did not agree at all. Rather it reflected the determination of a people who had been ruled by other people to remove as soon as possible all traces of former domination by an outsider. If in this country we had had the Germans during the last few years, we should now be removing all traces of them.

On the motion of Brigadier H. M. BURROWS, a vote of thanks was accorded to Sir Frederick James and Lord Chorley.

THE WOMEN OF INDIA TODAY

I.—A GENERAL SURVEY

By MRS. GRACE LANKESTER

WE all feel specially honoured to have Mr. Butler as our Chairman today. We remember, sir, your interest in the women's movement in India over many years, and the encouragement which you have always given to us who are working for a better understanding in this country and their work and problems.

Lady Pares, my daughter and I, were guests at the nineteenth annual session of the All India Women's Conference, the largest body of organized women in India. Lady Pares went as representing the International Alliance of Women, while my daughter Dorothea and I were from the Liaison group of British Women's Societies, which have co-operated with the All India Women's Conference ever since the Round Table Conference concluded its sessions in the early thirties. Our links were formed with the Conference first by our interest in the franchise proposals which were put forward by the three women who came over to give evidence before the Parliamentary Joint Select Committee. We supported them then because we felt, not only that Indian women had a right to say what they felt was required, but also because we thought that their proposals were based on the right lines.

Since that time British women have been invited each year, except during the war, to the annual sessions of the Conference. During the fifteen years that have elapsed since our liaison work was started our links have held. This, I think, is remarkable when one realizes that during the war communications became at times almost impossible, feelings were strained, and many of the women leaders connected with the Congress were serving terms of imprisonment. When we got to India last winter we realized how strong these links had been to stand these tests, for we were met everywhere with the greatest friendliness and kindness, and hospitality that was quite overwhelming.

We had only just over eight weeks in India, so I think that we all feel somewhat inadequate to speak on such a wide subject as has been given us. We are not really entitled to talk about "the women of India today"! It is true that we met and talked with hundreds of social workers from all over India at the Akola Conference, which was the purpose of our visit, but we realize that we met chiefly the intelligentsia among the women of India, and also that there was only time for us to visit a few places in North and Central India. But my daughter and I stayed exclusively in Indian homes, and it was there that we often got to the heart of things. North India in the winter is cold enough for one to sit in the evenings over comfortable fires, and this is always conducive to good conversation!

THE NATIONAL AWAKENING

I myself was last in India nine years ago after an absence of over ten years. In 1938 what most impressed me was not only the great national awakening, but the part that women were playing in this. Educated women, instead of being tied to their homes, were actively engaged in social and political work in a way that really astonished me. They had become alive to their social problems and wanted to tackle

them without delay. This time I saw further changes. First as regards the greatly increased number of awakened women. The membership of the Conference had far more than doubled—the attendance at the annual session at Akola ran into between 4,000 and 5,000 women. I am leaving it to Lady Pares to tell you more about the Conference, so I will only note one or two points that impressed me. There was a swing to the Left. The Congress members, who only a short time ago might have been considered “extreme,” are now thought of as moderate and stable; indeed the Congress Socialists and Communists sometimes label them “reactionary.” I should mention that in the Conference there are not only Left Wing and Congress, but Ranis and many women of high social position; indeed, Her Highness the Princess of Berar came from Hyderabad to attend the annual session at Akola and presided over a vast public meeting. But everyone in India today is nationalistic in their outlook, though with different affiliations. It was sad to see many fewer Muslim women at the Conference than formerly. A Muslim League Conference of women has been formed, and great pressure has been put on Muhammadan women to join this organization. None the less, some courageous women of Islam are still loyal to the All India Women's Conference, and two out of the six vice-presidents who were elected this year are followers of the Prophet. I personally hope and believe that when the present political tension is eased some of the former Muslim members of the Conference may return to it.

ACHIEVEMENTS

I should like to tell you how women are playing their part in national and international affairs. It is an interesting point that there is now no prejudice against a woman holding an important post. Merit and not sex is the criterion, and I consider that India has women the equal of any in any country. Mrs. Pandit was chosen to lead the Indian delegation to the United Nations because she was an outstandingly good person for the post, a fact which one of the members of her delegation stressed to me. That she was Pandit Nehru's sister did not, I believe, come into it. Incidentally we were glad to be present at a meeting of the United Provinces Assembly in Lucknow one day, when the Speaker paid a warm tribute to Mrs. Pandit for her work at the United Nations Assembly. The Premier asked that she should be allowed to say something in reply, and in an impromptu speech she made a moving appeal that, as she and her delegation stood in New York for a United India, so they should become united on domestic issues.

Mrs. Hansa Mehta was chosen last year to serve on the United Nations Status of Women Commission, and has just returned now from New York, where she has been a member of the Commission on Human Rights. * She has made a great impression there. Begum Hamid Ali has taken Mrs. Hansa Mehta's place on the Status of Women Commission this year. I think that I am right in saying that there was no British woman in our delegation to United Nations, or the Status of Women Commission; while Mrs. Roosevelt is the only other woman beside Mrs. Hansa Mehta to have served on the Human Rights Commission.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur is a member of U.N.E.S.C.O. representing India, and the first year when it met in London she was elected a Vice-President. Last November in Paris she served on the Executive Committee of that body. All these Indian women are playing a great part in international affairs, and are raising their country's prestige in the eyes of the world.

As regards the position of women in domestic politics, you will probably know that fifteen women were elected to serve on the Constituent Assembly, though alas there are three empty seats, as the Muslim League women are not attending. Among the women I saw there and was introduced to was a depressed class leader. Two women are on the important Minorities Committee of the Constituent Assembly. Mrs. Subbaryan, whom you will recall was a member of the Round Table Conference, is now on the Council of State.

There are two women in the Central Assembly, and when we attended there one day we heard them both speak. One was asking some pertinent questions with regard to labour conditions, and the other made a vigorous speech in support of a Bill to

make divorce possible for Hindu women. In the Provincial Assemblies there are large numbers of women. Mrs. Pandit is the only woman Cabinet Minister, I think, and she is in charge of the portfolios of Health and Local Government in the United Provinces. She was having an acutely anxious time when we stayed with her in Lucknow, owing to a bad outbreak of plague in the Province. It was interesting when we were there to hear her answering Parliamentary questions, some difficult and challenging, from the Opposition. She has a clear, incisive way of doing this.

We were in the Bombay Assembly one afternoon, and had an interesting talk afterwards with three of the women members, one of whom is Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Education, who is also the Premier. Two women are on the Central Board of Education and do valuable work there.

OTHER INDIAN WOMEN LEADERS

One cannot talk of women in India today without mentioning Sarojini Naidu, who is, as ever, a power in the land. Besides innumerable movements in which she takes a lead, she is Chairman of the Committee which is arranging to send exhibits to the India Exhibition, which is to be held at the Royal Academy in the autumn. She was also the Chairman of the Committee which planned the great Inter-Asian Conference recently held in Delhi and attended by representatives from over twenty-five Asian countries. Lady Pares will, I expect, tell you of a distinguished woman who is now playing a great part in India as this year's President of the All India Women's Conference. Lady Rama Rau must be known to many here, who will remember her for her vitality and charm, while she lived in London.

Two women made history while we were in Bombay. Mrs. Mithan Lam was appointed the first woman sheriff of that city—a high honour. Mrs. Lam is an able Parsee woman, who during a few years spent in England, not only gained her M.Sc. degree at London University, but qualified for the bar! The second woman is a fine Muslim, who has been made Vice-President of the Bombay Provincial Adult Education Committee, the first woman to hold that office. Mrs. Sayani has done some remarkable work in promoting literacy among Muslim women in Bombay, and she edits a vernacular fortnightly paper for women with an increasingly large circulation.

There are no reserved seats for women on municipalities, yet women serve on them in many cities, and there are three women on the Bombay municipality.

As regards social activities, a great deal of important work is being done by women. We saw some splendid institutions, hospitals, colleges, schools, etc., with fine women at the head. We also met some women magistrates who are doing valuable work, especially in juvenile courts. Then the needs of the villages are being put much more to the fore, where illiteracy, unhygienic surroundings, poverty and ignorance present huge problems. It is realized that voluntary work by amateurs, however enthusiastic, is not enough, and a strong drive is being made to get many more women to train as social workers and to devote their lives to this work.

Very many of our women friends in India are deeply concerned about the present communal tension. A plea for communal unity struck one as being the keynote of the Conference at Akola. In several places we heard of peace committees being at work, and only a few days before we left England the Sheriff of Bombay, of whom I have told you, called together a meeting of representatives of nearly forty women's organizations in the city to talk over what could be done by them to promote communal harmony.

I have purposely not dwelt on riots and disturbances, of which we read enough in the papers, and which sadden one's heart. Instead, I have wanted to strike a more hopeful constructive note by telling you how we found women in India today to the fore, many of them bringing good sense, a wide outlook, and executive ability, and I believe that they will largely contribute to the building up of a new and stable India.

LADY MOUNTBATTEN

I wish to add one word, which will, I think, increase our feeling of hope and encouragement this afternoon, in spite of all the difficulties in the situation in India today. Directly we arrived back from India Lady Mountbatten most graciously asked

Miss Agatha Harrison, my daughter and myself to come and see her, and help her and her young daughter to make contacts with the women of India. We were greatly impressed by her evident desire to establish a real basis of friendship between herself and the women leaders in India. From letters we are now receiving we know how quickly she has already made those contacts. We feel that with Lady Mountbatten's human sympathies and real desire for understanding she will do much in the new régime to strengthen the links between the women of both countries.

II.—THE CONFERENCE AT AKOLA

BY LADY PARES

It is a great honour and privilege to be asked to speak of my visit to the All India Women's Conference to so well-informed and important a body as the East India Association. It was my first visit to India, and I am conscious that my impressions must of necessity be very superficial. I shall therefore confine my remarks to the Conference and its influence on the women of India.

The Conference has undoubtedly been a training ground for many of the women who are playing distinguished parts as representatives of their country in world affairs. Mrs. Pandit, Mrs. Hansa Mehta, Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur and Begum Hamid Ali are all ex-presidents. They have held that office two or three times, and Mrs. Kamaladevi has served four times as honorary secretary and twice as president.

The Conference owes its origin to Mrs. Margaret Cousins, an Englishwoman, who in 1926 issued an appeal to women all over the country to form local committees and constituent conferences in each of the Provinces for the purpose of declaring their views on women's education. The original stimulus was a challenging appeal by a Mr. Oaten, Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, at a prizegiving function at a girls' school in Calcutta. He asked, "How long are you going to tolerate a man-made system, a man-made syllabus, a man-made examination, and a controlling authority in which women have no influence, as the dominating arbiter of your educational destinies?" and he called on Indian women to "tell us with one voice what they want and keep on telling us till they get it."

THE EARLY DAYS

The appeal met with a wide and enthusiastic response, and the first All India Women's Conference took place in Poona in January, 1927. The resolutions then and also in 1928 related with one exception to education. The exception was a resolution condemning child marriage, as it interfered with education. At the third Conference the programme was definitely widened to include social reform. Three years later it was clearly seen that, although the constitution of the Conference definitely debarred it from taking part in party politics, it could not avoid concerning itself with politics in the widest sense of the term if it were to perform its function of establishing women in their rightful position in the State and in society.

And so a further step forward was taken, and year by year the activities of the Conference increased, and it gained recognition as the foremost women's organization in India. It is the only organization with branches in the States. It now has 200 branches and 30,000 members. All work is done by voluntary agents. It has made a permanent contribution to education in the establishment of the Lady Irwin College of Home Science. The Save the Children Committee, with its children's homes in Bengal, in Orissa and Malabar, is also run under the auspices of the Conference.

It publishes its own monthly journal, *Roshni*, in English and Hindustani, with separate Hindi and Urdu scripts. It has also published seven pamphlets on questions affecting the conditions of women and children—on food and milk, women in mines, draft Hindu code, civil liberties, nursing services, a national theatre, a book on Karnatak embroidery. The Central Office of Information and Research Bureau has issued a report on women in employment in Government services. It has done good work in the sphere of legislation. The Child Marriage Restraint Act, the agita-

tion for the extension of the franchise, the initiation of the All India milk campaign, have found the A.I.W.C. in the front rank.

THE CHARTER OF RIGHTS

It is the custom for the presidential address to contain a clear statement of the policy of the Conference regarding the various problems confronting the country. Last year's president, Mrs. Hansa Mehta, in view of the post-war reconstruction of national life, requested the Standing Committee to prepare a Women's Charter of Rights defining the position of women, their rights, as well as their responsibilities, in order to give the Constituent Assembly a comprehensive picture of women's needs, to serve not only as a constitutional basis, but also as the basis for future legislation in political, social and economic matters. The text of the Women's Charter of Rights was therefore drafted by a small committee, consisting of Mrs. Kamaladevi, Mrs. Hannah Sen (Principal of the Lady Irwin College), Mrs. Renuka Ray and Mrs. Shiva Rao. It bears a close resemblance to the aims and objects of our own feminist societies.

This year's Conference accepted the charter, and added a demand that a social service ministry should be instituted both at the centre and in the Provinces.

THE LAST CONFERENCE

The Conference from which we have just returned was held at Akola, a small town in Berar. This year's president is Lady Rama Rau, a well-known figure in British circles and a most brilliant and attractive woman. You who know India so well will need no description of a provincial town, but, speaking for myself, I cannot find words to express my admiration and astonishment for the courage which summoned this huge gathering to meet in, what seemed to me, a series of straggling villages, with long dusty roads, no pavements or footpaths, goats wandering everywhere, no sanitation as we know it, and the water supply apparently dependent on wells. Delegates lived in tents in a camp, and in the village school, in primitive conditions, each one bringing her own bed. The President herself shared a room in the schoolhouse with five colleagues and the nesting pigeons. Many delegates travelled enormous distances, some in third-class carriages, in which conditions must be seen to be believed. But Lady Rama Rau told me the position of delegate is much coveted, and branches all hold elections to decide their representation.

The Conference was held in a gigantic tent, the biggest I have ever seen, and was crowded daily with from 3,000 to 5,000 women sitting cross-legged on mats. The majority of the women were quite young. The lovely coloured saris gave the appearance of a huge flower-bed. Outside the tent menfolk and children crowded round to hear the broadcast speeches.

The presidential address was printed in English, but a large body of delegates clamoured for its delivery in a vernacular. Their spokeswoman said: "Our sisters from the south can read the printed word, it is the language of our visitors; but *we* are illiterate, and therefore plead that it be delivered in our native tongue." Lady Rama Rau conceded their request, and for the first time in the history of the Conference the presidential address was delivered in a vernacular.

The president stressed the A.I.W.C. demands for social security, health insurance, education, vocational training, etc. She advised each branch to take up one practical piece of work and concentrate on it. She expressed the view that branches will have unique opportunities of helping the new Governments and of organizing the work they are doing in a much more direct and constructive manner in co-operation with the Government. She advised the drafting of a children's charter of rights, and said women must actively plan the lives of their children. There is a lack of knowledge in India of the requirements of children from the earliest stages. In no country are children so much neglected in spite of the love bestowed on them. Only by the work of women can we ever hope to change the outlook of the mother and the grandmother, who are the most important and influential people in the child's early life in the Indian home.

Lady Rama Rau suggested the centralization of the village medical health scheme, which was inaugurated with the generous help of the Skippto Fund. She also advo-

cated the organization of scientifically trained workers to help with relief and rehabilitation work in distressful emergencies of famine or flood, and the provision of an adequate fund to enable suitable Indian women to attend international conferences, as contacts abroad are valuable to them in their struggle for progress. She also congratulated the Conference on the ardent adherence of so many young women, conscious of the responsibility they owe their country and their people, less shackled by conventions, with better equipped minds and clearer vision.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONFERENCE

The resolutions were varied. A demand for better third-class travel; one on education, recommending all the branches to take up the work of educating children under six years of age, another to initiate work for the eradication of adult illiteracy, to improve the conditions of service, status and salaries of teachers. Other resolutions concerned the revival of cottage industries on a co-operative basis, the abolition of child labour, and the framing of a composite Maternity Benefit Act.

The chair moved five resolutions concerning Indians in South Africa, civil liberties in Goa, conditions of employment for women in Government services and professions, a common All India food policy and framing a children's charter of rights. All these motions were adopted unanimously.

The ideal of nationalism is so much in the forefront of thought and feeling at the present moment that it is not surprising that some political resolutions found their way on to the agenda, especially as the A.I.W.C. is a progressive body. These led to lively controversies and some amendments, whereas practically every other resolution was carried unanimously after debate and discussion.

The Princess of Berar honoured the Conference with her presence, and the climax was a gigantic open-air meeting of 12,000 men and women to whom the Princess made a moving appeal for communal unity. And so ended a memorable experience. Women's problems are fundamentally the same all over the world. We can profit by each other's experience, and I am convinced that international contacts should be assiduously cultivated. The kindness and hospitality shown us by the President and members of the A.I.W.C. have been a very pleasant and heartening experience, and I am grateful to the International Alliance of Women for giving me the opportunity of attending the Conference.

III.—THE YOUNGER GENERATION

By MISS DOROTHEA LANKESTER

I AM going to say a few words about the younger generation of Indian women. After all, though it is the present leaders who have the unenviable task of drawing up the plans for the new order in India, it is the young men and women who will have to work the new Constitution, put into action the economic and social reforms, prove that India is indeed ready to be, in the words of the resolution passed at the Constituent Assembly, an "Independent Sovereign Republic." What are they doing and thinking? Is there ground for optimism among the youth of India? My answer is yes. There is among the youth of India a burning desire to see a better India, a feeling of desperate impatience with all the evils rampant in their country and a spirit of service which gives great hope for the future.

In speaking of the youth of India, it is difficult to separate the women from the men. Young women in India are not, I should say, ardent feminists. Their social work is perhaps more directed towards women because women in the past have been the most down-trodden section of the community, but on the whole they are working for the rights of humanity, not just for one part, and they feel that men and women must co-operate if they are to achieve what they want. Among the students, for instance, one finds that the women decided against forming a separate union and prefer to work within the combined students' organizations. Women students are not yet as active as their brothers; many parents still feel that the chief aim of their

daughters should be to get married, and that the period at college is rather a time of waiting for the right man to come along than a preparation for a useful life.

Later, husbands—like husbands the world over, but perhaps more so, for the rise of women in India is still comparatively in its infancy—resent their wives taking an active part in public work. I remember one girl at the Conference saying to me: "My husband doesn't like me doing anything outside the home, but I *must*: it's in my blood." And that seems to be the case with a lot of them; the spirit of service is in their blood. During their vacations, or for a year or two after they have finished at college, they will go and work in the villages, teaching the people to read and write, giving medical help and advice, teaching handicrafts and hygiene; they will go out to the famine areas, they will go into the tenement buildings and try to improve the awful living conditions of their less fortunate brothers and sisters; they are running Citizenship Training Camps. I feel this strong spirit of service, this sense of responsibility towards their fellow men and women, is a real ground for optimism.

THE POLITICAL SCENE

They are, of course, politically minded as perhaps no other young people today, but then politics in India just now has much the same meaning as our fight for freedom during the war—at least that is how they look at it. They are intensely nationalist. The constant question is (or was before the announcement of the time limit): Is the British Government sincere? Do they ever really mean to leave India? I believe that with the withdrawal of Britain from India much of the tremendous energy the young people spend on politics—often to the detriment of their studies—will go into really constructive social work.

Among young people as a whole I would say that communal feeling is very largely artificially created. Most of the young men and women to whom I spoke said they found they could study and work together perfectly happily, and one found numerous instances of how they are trying to bridge the gulf—trying to prevent the establishment of separate colleges for Hindus and Muslims, to have combined feeding arrangements, starting sort of student civic guards where communal trouble exists to show the people how useless such trouble is.

My own feeling is that among the younger generation the split between the Left and the Right Wing is likely to be a much wider and more uncompromising one than that between the Congress and the Muslim League. It is a difference in method and approach that one finds the world over, and it remains to be seen whether the Communist methods suit the Indian way of life and thought. Anti-Communists feel they do not and never can, but there is no doubt there is plenty of scope for communist propaganda in the enormous contrasts between rich and poor.

Another interesting and hopeful feature is the growing realization of the need for co-operation with other countries. They are beginning to see themselves in a world picture with a contribution to make to the world and also much to learn. They are particularly keen on making contact with the youth of other Asian countries with a view to pooling ideas for the solution of their many common problems. But this does not in any way lessen their desire to co-operate more closely with the youth of Europe and America on an equal footing.

A DAY OF OPPORTUNITY

As one talked to them one realized what great opportunities the young women of today have compared with their mothers. The women of whom my mother has told you were fighting for their place in the world, they were all the time setting up precedents. Young women of today still have a great deal to fight for, but it is becoming more and more recognized by both men and women that they have an important part to play. Women are training for the diplomatic service, a lot are taking up journalism—Mrs. Pandit's daughter is second leader-writer to one of the principal daily papers, and two able girls I met were reporters for the *Statesman* and the *Bombay Chronicle*; another girl was teaching history in a university where most of her students were men; another was working in a publishing firm; a lot are taking up medicine, and I met one very fine Indian woman superintendent of a large women's

hospital staffed entirely by women. Yet another was taking up anthropology with a view to finding out more about the aboriginal tribes in India, and a very fine young woman, Sosa Matthew, has just been made national secretary of the Y.W.C.A. for India and Burma.

Certain professions are not yet open to women. For example, women may only occupy clerical grades in the Civil Service. I was asked by a group of budding civil servants at Lucknow University whether the men in the British Civil Service did not resent women holding executive posts; I replied that I had never heard of any resentment, and I felt sure that before long women would be holding such posts in India, and indeed the men had better look out or they would find themselves overshadowed by their efficiency!

WOMEN'S COLLEGES

I want to tell you of one or two of the colleges we visited where young women are being trained for special work.

We went over a very good nursing college in Delhi, which was started only last summer. One of the greatest needs in India today is nurses; in the United Kingdom we have one nurse per 300 of the population, in India it is one per 43,000, and until the whole status of nursing is raised the numbers will not materially improve. This college is trying to put nursing on a different footing, to introduce a new attitude towards the profession. They have three courses: one in public health and administration, during which the students go into the slums and work among the people; one for sister tutors to instruct nurses in the hospitals; and one for post-matriculation and B.Sc. students wishing to become nurses. Incidentally it was interesting to see that, working with the fifty or so girls, were two male nurses who had been very anxious to take the course.

The Lady Irwin College for Domestic Science is also in Delhi. It was started under the auspices of the All India Women's Conference in 1932 and now has 250 students, 150 of them resident. They have so many applicants for the courses that they have to limit them to girls wishing to take up teaching as a career; they cannot increase their numbers at present for lack of trained teachers and accommodation. Here girls from all over India, all religions, and castes work together learning cooking, sewing, hygiene, housekeeping and other domestic subjects. There is never a hint of communal trouble. Every morning they have prayers in the main hall; one morning they are taken by a Muslim, another by a Christian, another by a Hindu or a Sikh and they all join in.

I hope in the very short time at my disposal I have managed to convey to you that, though there is strife and disagreement among the young people—and where isn't there in this world of turmoil?—there is great hope in the generation that is rising in India.

TOWN PLANNING IN INDIA

BY SIR WALTER GURNER, C.S.I.

IN approaching the subject of Town Planning in India one cannot avoid reference, however brief, to the conscious recognition of this art or science as it existed in ancient India. There survives a whole Sanskrit literature on the subject. Questions such as the origin of the town, whether by influx or dispersal of population (picturesquely described as "vomiting the overflow"), allocation of zones to classes and uses, types of towns varying from fortress capital to country market, schematic shape, standard widths for roads and particular features, such especially as the gates, are all the subject of exhaustive discussion. And there is sufficient indication in the classical writings that these theoretical treatises did in fact represent practical art or science. Kalidasa, perhaps, in the fourth century A.D. is the only classical poet who uses a word which can be translated as "town planner."

Two qualifications must be made. In the first place, the extreme schematic elaboration characteristic of Sanscritic thought often robs these treatises of utilitarian reality. In the second place, one must beware of too facile an application of ancient planning terms to modern conditions. Nevertheless, the fact remains that planners in ancient India had envisaged conceptions such as that of zoning, of peripheral recreation grounds, and, most modern of all, of the neighbourhood unit, which Western planning has discovered, or at least brought to the fore as an essential factor in urban existence, only within the last generation. Had English town planning started in 1909 with the assets, the range of established ideas evolved by Indian planning tradition in mediæval times, we should be a good deal further ahead today.

My immediate subject is that of aspects of town planning in India, such as there has been during the past fifty years. I propose to give first a brief historical summary of this movement, then to pick out certain features discordant with or relevant to practice and problems in Great Britain.

PLANNED URBAN CONSTRUCTION

But first a limitation must be defined. The subject of town planning as a whole covers the two entirely different fields of planned urban construction and planned control over the disposal and use of sites. With the exception of Lahore, in recent years the field of activity in India has been essentially of the former character, construction of new traffic avenues, clearance of open spaces, and lay-out of new quarters for building in and on the fringe of built-up towns. The movement took its origin in precautions against plague in Bombay when an Improvement Trust was established in 1898 for these purposes in the congested city. This body, alone among those I have to mention, has completed its cycle of existence, being merged in the Bombay Municipality in 1933. The same formal reason accounted for the creation of the Calcutta Improvement Trust in the year 1911; but the movement had by then far outgrown its origins.

In both cities the Trust operated as the agency for all major urban improvement, greater emphasis being placed perhaps in Bombay on the provision of tenement housing, and in Calcutta on the creation of a new system of traffic arteries and the expansion of the town to the south by the conversion of jungle (in the Indian sense of waste land covered by scrub) to building sites. Following on the same model, Improvement Trusts were created in the early twenties, under a United Provinces Act of 1919, in the cities of Allahabad, Lucknow, and Cawnpore, the last mentioned as a rapidly growing industrial centre being faced with the problem of the greatest magnitude. Certainly Cawnpore has had more to do with specifically industrial housing in recent years than any other Improvement Trust in British India. There then occurred a pause in the impulse to urban reconstruction, and the greater part of twenty years elapsed before new bodies were formed.

An Improvement Trust for Old Delhi was established in 1937, its jurisdiction relating to the old town and having nothing to do with the city of New Delhi built nearly twenty years previously. This body has the credit of being perhaps the first to make systematic provision with the help of house-to-house survey, for the reinstatement of all persons displaced by its improvement. Meanwhile the movement had extended to the Punjab, where the Lahore Improvement Trust, established in 1936 under powers legislated for in 1923, was not only the first to have adequate rights of control over the use of land by zoning, but also to obtain the services of a town planner with specific qualifications in this capacity.

At about the same time the movement extended to the Central Provinces, where an Improvement Trust was established in 1937 for the city of Nagpur, to be faced during the war with the problem of a rapid accretion of industrial population with consequent uncontrolled development in a totally unserved town. It was not, I believe, till during the war that Karachi, a city which expanded rapidly during the war years, followed the example of Lahore, and the youngest recruit to the movement is the city of Madras, which formed an Improvement Trust on the now firmly established model only three years ago. Finally, to carry the picture beyond the boundaries of British India, in Hyderabad Deccan an authority constituted on similar

lines has done magnificent work both in point of traffic movements and housing. Heavily subsidized by the State, its dwellings for the poorer classes are among the best of their type to be seen in India. Mention must also be made of urban improvement activities in Mysore, and of the recent work in the one town which, with its broad streets and clear articulation, is commonly regarded as the masterpiece of indigenous planning in India, unspoilt Jaipur.

HOUSING AND STREET PLANNING

Perhaps at this point I should say a few words about the respective rôles of street planning and housing in the policy of Improvement Trusts in India. While these bodies have given consideration in varying degrees to the provision of housing of persons displaced by their operations, they have not, in most cases, considered themselves primarily as housing authorities. This is particularly so in Calcutta, where the Improvement Trust, while recognizing the obligation to rehouse persons disturbed and providing limited accommodation for the purpose, has not, in fact, after its early years and until quite recently, found itself called upon to do much in this direction, hut-dwellers preferring for the most part to make their own arrangements or move further out. During the last few years, however, the housing of the industrial and urban proletariat has come much more prominently into the picture in India, not without some confusion between these two categories, the industrial and the urban poor, which present quite separate problems. The report of a sub-committee of the Labour Advisory Committee on Industrial Housing was awaiting publication at the end of last year. Present indications are that in Bengal at least housing and urban planning will be recognized as distinct though inter-related branches of administration, dealt with by separate authorities but with some interlocking of personnel, and in close consultation with each other.

PATRICK GEDDES

In this brief summary of developments I have passed over two factors, one of which will no doubt have occurred to many present, while the other I would hope to rescue from oblivion. The latter is the visit to India in 1914 and the following two years of Patrick Geddes, whose pioneer work in the town planning movement receives increasing recognition today. One of the earliest casualties of the first world war was the Planning Exhibition which he brought to India in the cold weather of 1914, only to be sunk by the German cruiser the *Emden* in the Bay of Bengal; but with indomitable persistency he reconstituted it, exhibited it in Madras and Calcutta, visited many of the major towns, and prepared some half-dozen reports, on Dacca, for instance, and Lucknow, of which by now, alas! all that survive are rare copies in remote record rooms. But it was his personality that counted; his visit was the first opportunity for India to make contact with the whole conception of Design and Biological Adaptation, which I take to be his contribution to the principles of Planning. And though Patrick Geddes' visit resulted, I think I am right in saying, in no tangible achievement, no realized piece of urban planning, it was a fruitful stimulus to what was, and in a sense remains, the somewhat arid and mechanical conception of these functions in India.

NEW DELHI

The other factor to which I have given no place is the planning and building of New Delhi during and after the first Great War. Readers of Gertrude Bell's letters may remember the allusion to the early stages of construction during her visit to Delhi in 1916: "They have blasted away hills and filled up valleys, but the great town itself is as yet little more than foundations. Down each vista you see the ruins of some older Imperial Delhi. A landscape made up of empires, something to conjure with." But this achievement in ceremonial planning, the construction of a new seat of government with no urban life, no urban appanages except the residences of officials and their clerks, and facilities for their daily shopping, lies entirely apart from the living trend of urban development in modern India. Just as in the case of Canberra, it represents one function, one aspect of town planning; to the architectural mind

perhaps the greatest opportunity that planning can offer. But it stands by itself; the achievement bears no organic relation to the developments I have been describing, and it is altogether too elaborate a theme to touch on in passing. I turn now to the second part of my subject—comparison of certain features in the British Indian system with questions of principle and method now agitated in Great Britain.

In the first place, it will be seen that the authority for planning urban improvement is invariably distinct from the municipal government. It consists of a trust with a corporate existence controlled by a small board of trustees, under a chairman appointed by Government, who also nominate some, but not all, of the trustees. Moreover, such of the trustees as are elected by one body or another—the municipal council or a chamber of commerce, for instance—do not, within my own experience at least, function as *representatives* of a particular interest on the board; and the non-representative character of trustees as trustees is a vital factor in the conduct of trust affairs. That is to say, that the principle of the independent corporation, now accepted in Great Britain as the keystone for planning and construction of the new towns, is regarded in India as the normal organization for the planned reconstruction and expansion of existing towns. There is a certain amount of interlocking of personnel, both through the inclusion of municipal councillors among the trustees, and in many cases through membership of the municipal council, and of its works committee, by the Chairman of the Improvement Trust.

The municipal authority have, of course, the right of commenting on schemes when framed, and may make certain requirements when a completed scheme with its roads, sewers, mains, and open spaces is transferred to be a municipal asset; and this latter power in itself implies some deference to the views of the municipality, and consultation between the technical staff of the two authorities as construction proceeds. To illustrate, I remember a case in which the Improvement Trust, somewhat against its own better judgment, sacrificed a park to the purposes of a swimming pool, which was the municipality's hobby at the moment. Within these limits, however, the improvement authority is constituted and operates as an independent corporation, subject only to varying degrees of control by the Provincial Government, and is jealous of that independent position. The system stands at the opposite pole to the British conception of urban planning as essentially the function of the local authority through its appropriate committee. The remarkable thing is that not only does such a system work but that by common consent it is the only way of making town planning in India work at all.

CORPORATE SYSTEM

No doubt this device originated in the desire of Government to exercise its influence in the development of the capital town through an official chairman presiding over the deliberations of a small board; but there is no such reason now for its continuance. In the first place, the chairman has in many cases ceased to be an official. In the second place, Governments do not, within my own experience at least, set out to exercise such influence. On the contrary, the latitude in formulation of plans and priorities allowed to the corporate body, the simplicity of procedure in obtaining the Government's sanction to a scheme, and the elasticity of its operation form an entire contrast to the closeness and complexity of controls under the English Town and Country Planning Acts. In Bengal at least the Provincial Government have been lacking in the technical advice at headquarters on which the English system depends; and the corporate body has had practically untrammelled authority to evolve and actuate its own plans.

But why should so anomalous a system continue to be the model of every new planning authority established both in British India and the Indian States? The answer lies in what can best be described as the administrative immaturity, even at this day, of municipal councils in India. Often unwieldy in numbers, with the whole body of councillors subject to triennial elections, exposed and too often subservient to group pressure from their ward constituency and other quarters, these local authorities lack the stability and continuity of purpose essential to the framing and execution of a policy of urban improvement extending over a long period of years.

There is no getting away from the conclusion that in India, at least for the present, long-term planning and urban development must be the function of a small corporate body not under the direct control of the municipal council. The Indian States have recognized the same principle, though perhaps retaining a closer hand than most of the Provinces, in the control by Government over the working of the *ad hoc* corporate authority.

FINANCIAL ASPECTS

Secondly comes finance. The enormous commitments for grant in aid of planning accepted by the Treasury in the new Town and Country Planning Bill rob the comparison at this point of some of its relevance; but the Indian system may be briefly explained. From the beginning it was recognized, firstly, that urban reconstruction taken as a whole cannot be a paying proposition in point of direct financial returns; and, secondly, that the net capital cost could not be wholly unloaded on the municipal rates, though these bear their share of the burden. In Calcutta, at least, the municipality continued throughout the war to meet their statutory obligation of contributing a levy on the annual rateable value of the town corresponding to 4·8 pence in the pound towards the payment of charges on loans, raised by the improvement authority during the past thirty years. In Calcutta, though not in the more recently formed Improvement Trusts, this levy on the rates constitutes the major fixed source of revenue apart from proceeds from the sale of lands. As for the Government's share of the financial burden (except for *ad hoc* capital grants for special purposes), State-aid in India takes three separate forms. There is the guaranteed annual cash grant, which still exists in some cases. More noteworthy are the indirect subsidies either through allocation to an improvement authority of certain heads of taxation, or through the transfer to it of assets in State lands. The latter method is widely adopted in the case of towns in the United Provinces, and of Old Delhi, surrounded as they are by a fringe of State land. The Improvement Trust is given the land, develops it, and secures its profit on disposal, though it was soon realized that this form of aid would not suffice for financing long-term plans of construction in the built-up area. (It may be mentioned that the city of Rangoon, where all land had been confiscated after conquest, enjoyed the same advantage in operations prior to the invasion.)

In Bengal, on the other hand, the indirect subsidy from the State takes the form of assignment of certain taxes created expressly for this purpose, an export tax on jute, for instance, which realizes ten lakhs in a normal year, terminal taxes on passenger and goods traffic at the railway stations, and a surcharge on stamp duty on the transfer of land. This elaborate structure of specialized taxation for the purpose of subsidizing urban improvement is perhaps something of a museum piece, which could never be introduced elsewhere. But, firstly, it does embody a clear admission of the truth only now explicitly realized in Great Britain, that constructive urban planning cannot go on over a period of years without guaranteed subsidies from the State. Secondly, it represents a carefully adjusted balance of financial impact against the interests concerned which can only be tampered with now at the risk of an explosion that would sweep away the planning authority's resources. But unquestionably the guaranteed block or percentage grant is the better solution.

COMPULSORY ACQUISITION

Thirdly, in this brief comparative survey comes the question of powers in relation to land, the nature of which circumscribes and conditions the operations of any planning authority. And in this respect those in India have had the advantage over all but the latest developments in Great Britain. As will be well known to most of my audience, powers for the compulsory acquisition of land, under the appropriate Act, are far more peremptory in India than in Great Britain. From the beginning, under the formula of requirements for a public purpose, the Improvement Trusts in India have had the right of acquiring the whole block of land needed for the execution of any scheme to which they are committed. Further than that, in Calcutta at least, these powers extend, under a somewhat devious legal formula, to the acquisition of land designed not for the operation of a scheme but for recoupment on resale; and

on this is based an elaborate system of recovery from landowners. Finally, a direct charge may be imposed on betterment values on property situated outside the area scheduled for acquisition. Whatever the difficulties felt in Great Britain, this procedure has, within somewhat narrow limits, actually and successfully worked.

In these two respects, powers of acquisition for purposes of recoupment, and a specific betterment imposition, the Indian system may claim to be ahead of the most extensive powers taken in the new legislation. The system now proposed of a development charge on land in Great Britain does not, of course, exist; but in the cities of the United Provinces the denial of development value for the purpose of calculating compensation for acquisition is effected by the simple device of assessing compensation according to use; so that it has actually been ruled in the Allahabad High Court that compensation legally payable for open land in the centre of the city is nil. On the other hand, in the older Improvement Trusts, including that for Calcutta, compensation is payable on market value as determined by comparable sales, a heavy inflationary factor in the costing of planned improvements. At the same time, curiously enough, there is very little experience in India of the other side of the problem, compensation for injurious affection, the reason being, I think, that, as already explained, practically the whole of urban planning in India has been in the nature of active construction rather than restrictive control.

On the practical side, in the working of this procedure, the golden word is compromise. Except for the residual core of irreconcilable disputes about basic land values, the whole system is worked by a process of negotiation and agreement, the planning authority being willing always to settle at a shade below its full legal claims so that the owner is left with no advantage in recourse to the courts. Only the auditor objects. Another essential factor in recovery of betterment charges lies in the power specifically legislated for to make them a charge on the land affected, so that, in an area of rising values, which must normally result from any well-planned development, the charges will sooner or later inevitably be paid off as property changes hands.

FUTURE PROGRESS

Finally, after this summary of the existing position I would hazard a few words on future developments. There is no question that India is beginning to be alive to the wider outlook on town and country planning to which we are now habituated in this country. Provincial Governments are beginning to think of having their professional advisers on questions of locational planning. The problem of controlled siting of industries is vaguely taking shape, though in Bengal, at least, where the industrial area on both sides of the Hooghly river presents this problem in its most acute form, private enterprise is still getting ahead in the opening of large new factories, constructed in advance of any master plan to control their siting. The Government of India enacted a kind of Ribbon Development Act for the Province of Delhi in 1941.

The Province of Behar has been the first in the field in the denial of development rights as a general measure, through the agency of a Governor's Act requiring the consent of the District Magistrate to new constructions; and legislation on the lines of the Ribbon Development Act was contemplated if not passed in the United Provinces. These new ideas are abroad in India, but it is probably fair criticism to say that they lack the backing of expert advice and administration, without which attempts at the planned control of the use of land, both in town and country, can only end in fiasco. The difficulty for many years will be to recruit a trained personnel, outside the narrow circle of officers associated with the specific urban Improvement Trusts whose work I have discussed. This can only be done, firstly, by deputation of selected officers to planning courses in Great Britain and the United States, and, secondly, by the establishment, with their help, of training institutions in town and country planning in India. But both the Central and Provincial Governments are very far at present from formulating any schemes of this kind.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A JOINT meeting of the East India Association with the Overseas League was held on Friday, May 9, 1947, in the Hall of India, Overseas House, St. James's, S.W. 1. Sir HENRY KNIGHT, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., presided, and Sir WALTER GURNER, C.S.I., read a paper entitled "Town Planning in India."

The CHAIRMAN said that he had had something to do with town planning, as Bombay was the first city to have an Improvement Trust, and after the 1914-18 war the Bombay Development Department had done great work, the value of which was now becoming more and more apparent. Anybody who had been in India recently must realize the importance and need for town planning. Every city in India had been grossly overcrowded for the last five or six years, and practically nothing had been possible to provide housing for the increased population. The situation in Burma was much worse. Most of the towns had been laid flat, and Rangoon, which originally was one of the best-planned cities in the East, would need enormous effort expended to reconstitute its blitzed areas and to rehouse the many thousands of people who were living wherever they could find a space to put up a bamboo hut.

In addition to Sir Walter Gurner's many years of experience in dealing with local government bodies in Bengal, he was chairman of the Calcutta Improvement Trust from 1933 to 1936, and there was nobody better qualified to talk about town planning in India than Sir Walter.

After the reading of the paper, Sir LESLIE WILSON (late Governor of Queensland) said that Sir Walter Gurner had given a very interesting lecture. Town planning was a great problem for India; indeed, it was one of the most difficult problems that India had to face with her huge population. When the lecturer referred to days gone by, his mind went back many years to a place which he visited many times in Sind, Mohen-jo-Daro, where they had used bricks and watercourses thousands of years ago. During two or three generations town planning had advanced by leaps and bounds, due mainly to men like the lecturer.

When the speaker went to Bombay he followed Lord Lloyd, who was a great planner. A great deal had been done, although much of it was stopped owing to the financial stringencies. He had been greatly struck by the comparison of the development of New Delhi and Canberra in Australia. It was true that there was always a great need for town planning, but the necessities were finance and opportunity. The finance must be found for the new town planner, and the opportunity was there at the present moment. In Canberra a great opportunity was seized; it had gradually developed, and there was always a chance of further development of a town planning scheme when there was open country to deal with. Canberra was a beautiful city; it is true there were mainly only official buildings and officials' houses there now, but the development of trade and industry would come, and there would be in Australia, as in New Delhi, a great capital city laid out on proper plans.

Sir Walter Gurner had had great experience in town planning projects, and he wanted to express his gratitude to him for what he had said. His recollections of the Bombay Improvement Trust were very vivid, although it was fifteen years or more since he was there. A great deal was done then, and a great deal had been done since, and a great deal more remained to be done. With the help of men like Sir Walter Gurner it would be possible to go ahead on the lines laid down by them for the benefit of the Indian population.

Sir ROBERT BELL said that the lecturer had given a broad survey of town planning in India divided into three parts, administration, finance, and acquisition; he felt he could throw a few sidelights on one or two points by reference to the course of events in Bombay.

As regards finance, Sir Walter made the point that development schemes could never pay, and he would go further and say that one could not even start them until a boom began. He suspected that the time lag in the case of Lahore was closely

connected with the slump of 1930-31. Bombay was a very speculative city; it was apt to be either in the heights of financial spirits or in the depths of gloom. In 1918 there were visions of development and money-making, and a large reclamation scheme was resuscitated. The scheme had been sent to the Government in India in 1910, and the optimism of 1918 provided the opportunity of reviving it. The Bombay Government estimated that they would make a profit on the reclamation scheme of 20 crores of rupees, which was in excess of the yearly revenue of Bombay Presidency. Prices were rising when the work was started, and the estimates were soon doubled; and so it went on. Prices continued to rise, and, in addition, technical defects in the scheme became apparent; finally the scheme, when less than half completed, was abandoned at a net loss estimated at some crores of rupees.

The execution of this and other development schemes by the Development Department of the Government of Bombay had some similarity to the arrangements in Great Britain at the present time, where policy and authority is in the hands of the Government, and local authorities are delegates to carry out orders. On the other hand, the Improvement Trust in Bombay and the Port Trust, which is also a development body, were independent bodies. The Bombay Government had little concern with the technical aspects of their schemes, and were more concerned that the ways and means of financing them were sound. He joined the Improvement Trust at a rough time, but the schemes had ultimately been carried out in the main, although they were then at a standstill because revenue forecasts had not been realized. The whole of the north of Bombay had now been transformed. There were noble public buildings, one very large hospital, a technical college, the Research Institute of the Government of India for Cotton, and a well-planned residential neighbourhood.

The other schemes of the Bombay Development Department included one for housing the industrial classes. The circumstances were somewhat similar to the reclamation scheme. The idea was to provide subsidized housing, as is done in this country, for mill operatives, and the scheme was based on the assumption that the "economic rent," based on the cost of the scheme, would be Rs. 10 a month. This was more than the mill hands could afford to pay. A tax was therefore imposed on all cotton imported into Bombay, either for export or for use in the mills, to enable the rent to be reduced to Rs. 5 per month. In the final result, owing to rising costs during the period of construction, the "economic rent," based on the actual cost of construction, was something like Rs. 17 or Rs. 18 per month. The subsidy was Rs. 5, and the rents charged ranged from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10, leaving a deficit which had to be met from other sources.

More akin to the planning which Sir Walter had described was the development of the suburbs of Bombay, partly by the acquisition of land by the Government, and partly by another method of carrying out planning. This latter method was used in several moderately sized schemes for undeveloped lands in the ownership of numerous smallholders. In these schemes each owner's holding was valued at the prevailing market rate, a development plan was framed, each building plot in the plan was valued at its prospective value after development, the original holders were each allotted one or more building plots in the plan—and paid the difference between the prospective value of the building plots and the market value of the original holdings. A fund was thus created to finance the construction of roads, drains and other development works. But here again the cost of construction rose before development works were completed, and all the necessary works could not be carried out from the available funds. In the long run, however, by various means and in varying circumstances, a great deal of development and suburban planning was completed.

He gathered from recent arrivals from Bombay that what had been accomplished in the city and its suburbs had done a great deal to meet the pressure on land and building accommodation during the war. There was no doubt that, despite vicissitudes, development, after the first World War, in and around Bombay, had given a notable return in the convenience and healthy living conditions of its inhabitants.

There was one point to notice in regard to the independent position of the Improvement Trusts in India; in most cases their proceedings were in private. He well remembered the first meeting of the Port Trust. The core of the Trust consisted of ten business men, five from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce and five from the

Indian Merchants' Chamber, all acute critics of the conduct of the Port Trust's affairs. At this particular meeting there was only one voice heard—that of the chairman explaining the items on the agenda and receiving nods of assent to each. Such an incident never happened again, but, although the agenda may have been light and not contentious, he thought it was a good indication of the harmony in which the executive of the Trust carried out the policy of the trustees. In the case of the Bombay Improvement Trust, however, the meetings were open to the Press, and there was a tendency to make speeches to the gallery, thus illustrating some of the difficulties which Sir Walter Gurner had described in municipal administration in India. In his experience it was an advantage for a Trust's business to be conducted frankly in private and for the Press to be informed later of the result of the Trust's deliberations.

He supported Sir Leslie Wilson in his estimate of the ability with which Sir Walter Gurner had explained the spread of town planning and its various aspects in India.

Lieut.-General Sir THOMAS HUTTON said that the point which he thought he would be expected to deal with was what the Government of India had done, or intended to do, with regard to town planning and housing. His Department had not perhaps achieved very much, but he had had many discussions, in particular with Sir Harry Prior of the Labour Department, who was much interested in this subject. He had also had the advantage of sitting at the feet of Sir Walter Gurner and hearing of the problems of Calcutta. Certain conclusions were arrived at in his Department as to what might and ought to be done. One obvious step was to develop the training of town planners in India. While the sending of selected officers to Great Britain and the United States was undoubtedly a good thing, it was very desirable to set up in India a town planning institute, and alongside it an institute or college of architecture, where the principles of town planning and building, as applied to India, might be determined and learnt by all concerned. He hoped that would be done, and, in view of the difficulty of getting experienced men from overseas, it seemed to him that the Government of India would be well advised to concentrate on getting one or two really first-class men to take charge of an institute where young Indians could be trained in this work. It was desirable that eventually the Central Government and every Provincial Government should have its own expert town planning adviser. It was also desirable that every town of any size should have its Improvement Trust, and that the powers and resources of the existing Improvement Trusts should be developed. He did not think there was any feeling that the Centre should attempt to take control of this subject, but, as in other spheres of planning, it was felt that by giving grants to these objects contingent upon approval of the policy, Provincial Governments could be influenced in the right direction. Any grants which the Provincial Governments decided to make to the Improvement Trusts in their five-year plans would have ranked for assistance from the Centre, probably something of the nature of 50 per cent. He thought a town planner was actually appointed to the Central Government before he left.

Another point, on which they got a little further, was housing. In this respect there was an enormous time-lag to make up, and the Central Government agreed after much discussion that it would give a subsidy for industrial housing, provided the Provincial Government was willing to give an equivalent amount, the total subsidy being about 25 per cent. of the cost.

The only other thought which occurred to him was a wish that the people in this country would give a more general recognition to the fact that they might have something to learn from the work of the civil administration in India. He hoped that the wealth of ability and experience which the civil officers in India possessed would be made use of by this country in dealing with the many problems which had to be faced in the next few years.

Mr. V. R. RAO said that he had listened to the paper with great interest, because town planning was of the utmost importance to India today. Town planning was not new to India; there were passages in Sanskrit literature relating to town planning. It was not sufficient for India to rest on the glory of the past; she had to move with the times. Coming to this country and seeing the system of town and country planning he

had been very much impressed, and would suggest that it would be worth while if India could send some technicians who would study here as well as in the United States modern methods of town planning, and advise the town planning authority in India and give them expert advice on the subject. At the same time he would like to add that if it was possible they should take the advice of a few artists who had had some training in town planning so that the artistic side of the problem was not overlooked.

Coming from Bombay he would particularly like to refer to the reclamation scheme, which was known as the Marine Drive. Once there was nothing but sea where today stood beautiful roads and excellent buildings; thousands of people had been housed, and in the evening one could see thousands enjoying themselves. This was very creditable, and those responsible for the scheme should be congratulated.

Dr. H. S. BATRA said that he was in India last year and visited some of the big cities. In Lahore there was some improvement on the fringes outside the old town, which housed nearly 150,000 people. There was nothing being done for the old town. At Amritsar, with a population of a quarter of a million, there was no improvement work. In New Delhi, for the first time, one saw a town well laid out in the English fashion, but not in the Indian way. That was a city imperial and it did not provide for the population. It was not planning for the indigenous population; the housewife had to walk two miles to do her shopping. There could only be one Canberra or New Delhi. He had not recently been to Cawnpore, but to the south there were two big cities, Bombay and Calcutta, which had some sort of Improvement Trust, but the work was confined to certain parts. In Bombay there was no planning in the native quarter. The whole of Bombay Island should have been properly planned.

At the same time planning should be done on a proper basis, and there should not be these enormous losses as on the Bombay Back Bay Reclamation Scheme. In Madras the speaker had said that there would be an improvement trust, but that was the total accomplishment in a continent of 400,000,000 inhabitants—town planning for 1 per cent. of the population. He was not proud of this limited accomplishment. An enormous problem needed enormous planning. There were in this country a hundred years ago undeveloped and unplanned cities; the average earnings were about 25s. a week, and these had gradually risen to £4 or £5 a week. If a man was earning £5 a week he could not pay more than 33s. a week rent. One had to calculate so many houses at so much rent, and that was how it was done to provide a house within his means in a planned estate and town. On the estate where he lived 2,000 houses were built to sell at £600, so as to be within the reach of the working-class family. Town planning should be done in a manner that people could afford, earnings should be taken into account, and houses built within that limit, thereby making it popular and universal, and not only for a select few.

Mr. A. R. TROLLIP said that he was connected with traffic planning in Bombay, and considerable advances were made by building roundabouts and following the methods used in this country. The Government of Bombay appointed a town planning committee with three panels—one on housing, one on town planning, and one on communications. He was the chairman of the latter, and came to the main conclusion that there should be a master plan for the development of greater Bombay. It was no use developing one part of Bombay unless the whole scheme was known. The corporation and Government accepted that viewpoint, and a master plan was to be brought out to indicate the general lines on which town planning should develop. There was no one in India who had had experience of master planning, and it would be necessary to go to America or to come here to find such an expert.

Some of the speakers had stressed the point of sending Indian engineers over here or to America, and he would endorse that. He did not think it was appropriate to send students because they would not be ready or have the experience that a practitioner would have.

He was glad to hear that a school of architecture and town planning was to be established. There was a school of architecture and a department of town planning

in Bombay, but the trouble was the staff. The staff was highly qualified, but they had not the experience, and for a while India must rely upon the experience of other countries.

Sir WALTER GURNER, in reply, said that Sir Leslie Wilson must have thought that the speaker was putting his head into the lion's mouth when drawing a comparison between New Delhi and Canberra. He agreed with the criticism of New Delhi made by Dr. Batra about the absence of any local shopping centres.

A remark which interested him was the value of discussion behind closed doors. He was not aware that some of the Improvement Trusts conducted their discussions in public. In Calcutta the Press were never admitted, and the effect of that on the mentality of the trustees themselves was remarkable. Again and again he had read with misgiving of the appointment of some extremist politician as a representative on the Trust, and then found that working with him behind closed doors he was a perfectly reasonable and helpful member. In a city like Calcutta the chairman had no institutional privileges at all; he was simply a trustee with other trustees with no overriding powers, and in Calcutta it had been possible to carry out one well-co-ordinated scheme of running a central avenue right through the heart of the city. It was done piecemeal, item by item, each being governed by discussions in a committee which was not in any sense dominated by the chairman.

Sir Robert Bell also agreed with him that development schemes in an urban area could not pay. It would never be possible to provide for the poorer classes without a grant from Central or Provincial Government amounting to 75 per cent.

The meeting closed with a vote of thanks suitably proposed by Mr. H. H. HOOD.

THE FUTURE OF INDO-BRITISH RELATIONS

BY P. D. SAGGI

(Of the Indian Nationals Overseas Congress)

I AM conscious of the honour done me by inviting me to speak on a subject of such vital interest. The East India Association and the Overseas League have been forums for public opinion for a great many years, and from this platform subjects of international interest and importance have been discussed by well-known authorities.

I speak in my individual capacity and not on behalf of the Indian Nationals Overseas Congress, of the London branch of which I am president. I may mention that it seeks to be the mouthpiece of four million Indian nationals outside India. Its general aims are to secure for Indians overseas their rightful status in the comity of nations and to promote better relations between Indians and the people of their countries of domicile.

The future of Indo-British relations is not a matter of sentiment or party politics. It has now assumed the dimensions of an international question. Statesmen all over the world are looking towards India, for what happens in India is going to affect the peace, progress and prosperity of the world.

To speak of the future is an exacting task. With a view to discussing the future we have to glance over the past, for present, past and future are closely interlinked. That the East India Company, during the first 150 years of its relations with India, was animated by considerations of commerce and trade is well known. After the Battle of Plassey (1757) the Company became a political power. Indian history for the next hundred years was a record of the exercise of absolute power divorced from responsibility to the people, though great statesmen like Amherst, Munro, Metcalfe, Elphinstone, Bentinck, and many other Company's servants laboured for the common good and were actuated by a genuine solicitude for the people of India. Many reforms were introduced, social and educational, to meet the demands of a developing and self-conscious society.

With the spread of English education and increasing knowledge of English social and political ideas, the educated classes began to agitate for civil and political rights; which culminated in the grave crisis of 1857. With the Royal Proclamation of the following year power was transferred from the Company to the Crown. In 1861 the first India Council's Act was promulgated and the right of Indian representation was recognized. In 1885 the Indian National Congress was established with the blessings of Lord Dufferin, the then Viceroy, as a safety valve for and register of public opinion. In 1892 the principle of election was admitted by the back door, and the powers of the Council were extended to the point of asking questions and discussion of the Budget.

STAGES OF REFORM

A much bolder step was taken in 1909 by the introduction of the Morley-Minto Reforms. The Legislative Councils were enlarged; the principle of direct election was accepted; and non-official majorities were provided. But unfortunately a great blow was dealt to the unity of India by the introduction of separate electorates. Our main difficulties today can be traced back to this. Time does not permit my relating the story of the Muslim deputation to the Viceroy at that time—a "command performance," as the late Maulana Mohamad Ali put it. Sir Syed Sultan Ahmed, until lately a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, has observed :

"The deputation urged that the Muslims should be represented in the Legislatures in greater numbers than his numerical proportion permitted, in recognition of the historical importance of his community and his service to the Empire. So far the claim was just and eminently reasonable. But the device of separate representation sowed the seeds of a growing separatism, and the progressive growth of separatism has rendered the device inadequate. Seldom was so just and right an end vitiated by so wrong a means." [*A Treaty Between India and the United Kingdom*, p. 66.]

In 1921, under the Act of 1919, parliamentary reforms were introduced with the avowed object of "a gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to a progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." The India Act of 1935 was the outcome of years of discussion, commissions and conferences. Shevalankar, however, calls it a "prodigy of Imperialist statesmanship, an elaborate and ingenious device to frustrate the emergence of a free India and to secure so far as constitutional provision could secure the continuation of British rule in circumstances totally different from those prevailing at the time of its establishment." [*The Problem of India*, p. 186.]

THE 1935 FRAMEWORK

Unfavourable comments have been made in this country about the cautious, suspicious and unfriendly Indian approach to the British declarations of good faith and goodwill towards India. But in the words of Professor Coupland : "If the Act [1935] came into full operation (which of course was difficult to work) the status of India would be comparable with that of a Dominion before 1914." When war came the federal structure was shelved, and British India worked under the other provisions of the Act in the Provinces and of the 1919 Act at the Centre.

Next came the Cripps proposals. They conceded the demand for a Constituent Assembly and introduced the idea of a treaty to be negotiated between the two countries. These proposals were considered, in the words of Mr. Gandhi, "a post-dated cheque," and were rejected.

The next attempt at the solution of the problem was the Cabinet Mission's plan of May 16, 1946. Thereby an interim Government was set up, and India's right to secede from the Empire was accepted. The demand for fixing a time limit had been persistent, and Mr. Attlee rose to the occasion by declaring in the House of Commons on February 20 that all British forces would be withdrawn by June, 1948. The news was reassuring, and proved the sincerity of the Labour Government and the integrity of British statesmanship. This improved Indo-British relations, and achieved much. Throughout the constitutional history we find that public demand has been always ahead of the concessions made and the reforms introduced. India was not only demo-

cratic in her outlook, but she wanted to reach the goal of complete independence at the earliest opportunity.

A very pertinent question is asked at this stage. Having won freedom, can India retain it? I say yes. Indians fought to defend liberty, freedom and democracy in France, Germany, Egypt and the Desert campaign; from Dunkirk to Hongkong they fought everywhere. And they will fight again and again and again till the foes and forces that threaten freedom and democracy today are humbled and humiliated.

DEFENCE

Some people opine that shorn of the British Navy, Army and Royal Air Force, the defence of India will be almost impossible. I do not subscribe to this view, though I realize that some sort of technical aid will be necessary in the beginning to train Indian personnel. Germany, Italy and Japan are finished as potential dangers. France is licking her wounds.

Britain is slowly recovering from war losses. The two great Powers that remain are Russia and America. Many a time the question has been asked, Are Indian pro-Communists? Without any hesitation I say no. There may be certain things which we could learn from Russia, because she and India are agricultural countries; both have rural economies and raw materials and markets. All that Russia wants today is capital and machinery, and India can supply neither. Therefore, India is not afraid of any aggression from Russia. Regarding America, the danger is even more hypothetical. America wants markets for her goods, and for a long time to come we shall need all the machinery, all the technical skill, and all the mechanical paraphernalia that America or Britain can spare. Moreover, Americans are independent people; they are not prepared to build their palaces on the graves of others.

India is a great country, rich in men and material resources. An independent India can definitely raise an army efficient and strong for her purposes. Moreover, in these days, defence is a joint problem. To say nothing of India, even America, Russia or Britain cannot stand alone. In this atomic age defence is more a regional matter. "Days of big Empires are gone," says Pandit Nehru, "and so are those of individual entities." For our defence we have to make common cause with China, Australia, Egypt and other countries that lie in this region. Hence India need not necessarily remain within the Commonwealth for the sake of defence. In due course India will contribute more towards international amity and goodwill than she will need in the shape of protection. The other possible groups that can be formed are: (a) Central European; (b) Slavonic; (c) Far Eastern; (d) American.

On close scrutiny we find that, whereas India has much in common with other groups, her continued connection with the British Commonwealth is more natural, and history in the past two decades has forged the links stronger.

TRADE AND EXTERNAL RELATIONS

The activities of the East India Company in India were more than trading. Even English historians have called them "loot" and "shaking the pagoda tree." Even after 1858, when government by the British Crown began, trade relations were still conducted preponderantly in the interests of Great Britain. Such industrialization as exists in India today is the outcome of the two wars, which gave her a chance to equip herself. She remains a great market for British goods, and will be so for a long time to come provided political relations are not embittered. The conductors of British trade and commerce have a reputation in India for fair dealing; their integrity and soundness are relied upon.

The United Nations Organization is being built up to bring peace and to end wars. But will it do so? As the time passes the gulf between big powers, instead of being bridged, is widening. I was in Paris at the time of the Peace Conference and it was clear that though the Allies had won the war they had yet to win the peace. The nations were divided into blocks and factions. Once again separate zones of influence were sought to be created and different ideologies were pushed forward. In the presence of clashing theories—of capitalism, imperialism and communism—which side should India take? By nature Indians are peace-loving. Not only India, but the

East generally has given birth to policies of peace. Such great religions as Hinduism, Buddhism and Christianity have taught peace. India's rôle in present circumstances is to strengthen her own position and go on promoting peace as best she can.

WITHIN OR WITHOUT

The Cripps Declaration gave India the choice either to remain within the Commonwealth or to sever her connections if she so desired. Under the Statute of Westminster, 1931, all the Dominion Parliaments became formally and legally independent for internal and external purposes alike, but the way they stood with the Mother Country during the last war showed that there was something stronger than a formal contract between Britain and the Dominions. In the face of a common danger they stood as a unity to fight the forces that threatened the overthrow of democracy.

Sir George Schuster in *India and Democracy*, referring to Britain and the Dominions, observes: "There is a spirit which binds these separate units in a string like beads: (a) Common way of life; (b) allegiance to a common sovereign; (c) a common home of origin."

By these tests India does not belong to the Commonwealth. Moreover, in South Africa, Ceylon, Australia, Canada, East Africa, Jamaica, Trinidad and British Guiana, Indian nationals suffer from political disabilities of one kind or the other. "All these restrictions and racial discriminations," says Sir Syed Sultan Ahmed, "are not only very humiliating and irritating, but they also raise the fundamental question, What does the Commonwealth stand for? 'If our nationals,' to quote Viscount Peel at the Imperial Conference in 1923, 'are to be regarded as a foreign body politic of these dominions,' it is time we asked ourselves, Should not India go out?"

On the other hand, there are uniting factors between India and the Commonwealth: (a) Common struggle and suffering during the two world wars; (b) common allegiance to the ideology of democracy; and (c) two hundred years of historical relation. Links so strong cannot be easily disregarded by snapping the connections which have grown out of them. The seeds of democracy were present centuries ago in the village system in India. But they had no opportunity to develop, because of internal insecurity and invasion from without. With the coming of the British and the study of their self-governing institutions, a movement grew for the revival of ancient self-governing local institutions in the light of modern notions of democratic government. This was crystallized in the birth of the Indian National Congress. No wonder that India has come to have a great faith in the parliamentary form of government, and, in spite of everything, has retained great love for political traditions on the British model. She desires to draw inspiration from the same source in the building of the new Constitution for a United India in the future.

THE INTERNAL CONFLICT

Another factor which will greatly influence the future of Indo-British relations is that of the internal travail. There is the triangle of the Congress, the Muslim League and the Princes. The Constituent Assembly, boycotted by the Muslim League and before any States' representatives attended, passed a resolution declaring the intention to make India a sovereign republic. As you are aware, the League meeting at Lahore in 1940 asked that India should be partitioned into two blocks—Pakistan and Hindustan.

Mr. Jinnah does not seem to me to have gone beyond the Lahore resolution. All that he has done is to give it flesh and blood and to clothe it in a new spirit. As such, it appears very much inflated. Gandhiji is willing to concede the substance of the Lahore resolution. Mere academic controversies regarding India being a nation or a congeries of nations should not stand in the way of a final settlement. If India is to be free, democracy must decide on its particular pattern, and Muslims will, and must, be given the right of self-determination. Once Hindu and Muslim differences are composed, the question of the States can be taken up and solved without much difficulty. The States, by resolutions of the Chamber of Princes, have shown their willingness to join the rest of India; rightly they wish to avoid siding with one party or the other. It appears that the settlement of the Indian problem is within

sight, and the country is accepting the inevitable. Such a settlement will not only vastly improve internal conditions in India, but also place Indo-British relations on a much better footing.

There may be certain differences of opinion between the politicians and the statesmen in India as to whether she should remain within the British Commonwealth of Nations or not. But there can be no difference of opinion that a free India will not only be friendly, but also a close ally of Britain. Destiny—or call it the force of history—has brought us together, and together we shall remain. The links that have been forged between the two countries are no common links, and it is not easy to tear them asunder. All we have to do at present is to understand each other better. In the past, I must admit, little was done to explain the English viewpoint. India was considered of small importance. The goodwill of a small country in the Balkans or the Middle East was regarded as of greater consequence than the goodwill of millions in India. This perhaps was due to India being a subject country. But now conditions have changed. India is at the threshold of independence, and good relations with her cannot be a matter of indifference.

There remains much prejudice in both countries to be overcome. Maybe it arises from pride on one side and long frustration on the other; but I feel that, given the chance, these features will disappear and the sun of friendship and amicable relationship will arise. Then the mutual destiny of India and Great Britain set in the historical background will be reached—that is, to promote peace, amity and goodwill in the world. Only then can we proceed from the British Commonwealth to the Commonwealth of Mankind.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A JOINT meeting of the East India Association and the Overseas League was held on Tuesday, April 29, 1947, at Overseas House, St. James's, S.W. 1, with Lieut.-Colonel Sir WALTER SMILES, C.I.E., D.S.O., M.P., presiding, when Mr. P. D. SAGGI read a paper on "The Future of Indo-British Relations."

The CHAIRMAN said that Mr. Saggi was president of the London Branch of the Indian Nationals Overseas Congress and was a citizen of Lahore. In India he was president of the North Indian Adults Educational Conference, he had travelled extensively in the Far East and he attended the Paris Peace Conference as a journalist. He had been editor of the *Punjab Times* and the *Literary Star* in Lahore.

After delivery of the lecture,

The CHAIRMAN said that the only matter of history to which he would refer was that of separate electorates of Muslims and Hindus. The system was started at the time of the Morley-Minto reforms when Mr. Morley, then member for Blackburn, whom he afterwards succeeded, was very anxious for the same type of constituencies in India as in England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Lord Minto pressed his contrary opinion on John Morley, and since that date there had been continual trouble, which was increasing, between Muslim and Hindu.

India was being ruled under the Act of 1935 in the Provinces and more or less under the Act of 1919 at the centre. They could let history go because what principally concerned them all was the future, and to see an India which was strong, prosperous and united. All were asking what was going to happen in June, 1948, when British troops were withdrawn. Was there going to be bloody murder? would there be 20 million dead? and if the Indians could not compose their own differences would some other country like Russia walk in? Something better might happen. They might agree with the loss of only one million dead. India would then be separated; Pakistan and the Princes would not join a united India, but we might see something very much better, with only the loss of 50,000 or 100,000 Indians.

There was another possibility, and that was for the British to stay. He believed it was too late, and he believed that if we did stay we might leave a legacy of hatred behind. For his part he wanted to see India succeed in being united and prosperous. The difficulty, of course, was that all these years the British had been in India they had preserved discipline, discipline in the Indian Army and discipline in the Indian Police, and up to the present when an order had been given by an officer, either Indian or British, in the Army or the Police it had been obeyed. Hitherto the Police and the Army had had no caste and no communal differences. He had had British and Indian officers boasting that there was no religious intolerance in the Indian Army. The question at the back of one's mind was whether discipline would be maintained in the event of rioting or whether Muslims would refuse to fire on Muslims but turn their fire on to the Hindus, and *vice versa*. He heard some of the tragic stories of the Calcutta troubles when he was there last January but would not repeat them.

He thought that the lecturer was hasty when he lumped the little Province of Assam in with Bengal under Pakistan. He found last January that there was more union between the Muslims and Hindus in Assam to keep out of Bengal than of the Assamese Muslims wishing to go into Pakistan. The Muslims of Upper Assam wished to see it a separate Province not included in Bengal. He realized that among 400 million people a little Province of 8 million was liable to be overshadowed, but though the Province was small these people had feelings and their wishes should be consulted. The difficulty was, of course, that Assam had not got a port, both Calcutta and Chittagong were in Bengal, and the people in Pakistan would have the power to put pressure on them.

He would conclude with a word about the Indians overseas. He saw them in Kenya, in South Africa and in Jamaica, and such was the cleverness, the thrift and the hard work of the Indians overseas that he always found them succeed. Whatever rule they were under they got on very well. In his opinion most of them (as indeed some of them admitted) were in very much better positions than they would have been had their fathers and mothers stayed in India. At any rate, the future of Indians overseas would depend upon the Constitution of the land they lived in, and many seemed to wish to leave India and settle in Africa. Were the Indians in South Africa to be citizens of South Africa or India? Having lived among Indians and knowing their ability and what they were able to do, he was quite sure that Indians in their own land and Indians in foreign countries would play a very great part in the future of the world.

Sir LANCELOT GRAHAM said that it was very difficult to speak on a subject like this without running the risk of causing offence. All Britishers were frankly disappointed that India, to whom so many of them had given the best years of their lives, to whom their fathers and grandfathers had given the best years of their lives, now seemed to be turning round and biting the hand which fed her. It was wrong to cherish that feeling, and he could assure his hearers quite positively that if the British were Indians, however good their disposition might be towards the British, they would feel that there was a risk in remaining within the British Commonwealth of Nations. They would feel that somewhere in that great organization there would be some critical factor and that the Indians would be on trial all the time. He thought Indians felt, and they could not be blamed for feeling it, that, in spite of their being asked to stay within the Empire, it was the natural thing for them to say they would rather stand on their own feet.

Mr. Attlee said, in sending out the mission to India, "We should like to see India staying within the community which calls itself the British Commonwealth of Nations, but remember always that that community is a free association of free nations, and we would keep no nation within that community which is not there voluntarily." It was, the speaker was convinced, inevitable that India should seek to stand completely independent, and it was for us to do all we could to help India, with no conditions attached to the help we gave. When the Cripps Mission went out to Delhi it was to offer a Constituent Assembly to India, with the intention of promoting India to Dominion status, and the Cripps offer was turned down by

every organized body in India. It was turned down by the Hindus because it hinted at the possibility of something like Pakistan, and it was turned down by the Muslim League because it definitely did not say that Pakistan must be granted. He had never understood why it was turned down by the Indian National Congress. They were frightened of it and were not going to say anything about Pakistan, and they produced the excuse that the Princes would be allowed to go into the Constituent Assembly or to send their nominees to the Assembly, and they would not be elected by the people, which would vitiate the nature of the election.

It was greatly to Sir Stafford Cripps' credit that he came back not disappointed and was ready to go again, and he did go again, and came back having done, the speaker thought, a great deal of good, because he showed India that we really meant business. Sir Reginald Coupland had collected a series of passages in his book which made it clear what was our purpose from the beginning, and amongst these he quoted Lord Macaulay and the grandfather of Lord Beveridge, who served in India. He might have quoted anyone who had ever said anything, because they all knew that they were working to set India on her feet as a fully self-governing country, and it remained for her to decide whether she chose to remain within the Empire or not.

India had not so chosen. What had she chosen? Was it known what Pakistan meant or those other entirely exaggerated claims which were being made? He would mention only the Province of Sind, which the other day made a declaration that she, at any rate, was going to stand on her feet as a separate sovereign country. She was not going to be mixed up with anyone else, and she would rule herself alone. That declaration was rather complicated because Sind lived on the Indus, but the Indus did not rise in Sind, and all sorts of things might happen to the waters of the Indus if Sind was independent.

He would not like to look forward quite so confidently as the lecturer to the future of India, because he was frankly frightened about the fall in the standard of the administration; the rule of law was fading out, and it would be very difficult in a country the size of India to keep a high standard of administration and be certain that the people would obey the orders, declarations and policy of the Government; if they did not, what would happen to them?

There was no feeling against the Indians for wanting to govern themselves; one wished them every sort of good fortune, but it was right to warn them of the dangers. He hoped that great friendliness would continue between the two countries. He noticed that Mr. Patel, one of our most stalwart opponents, said quite plainly that once Indians were governing themselves there was no one with whom they would rather deal commercially than with the British, because they believed, although they had opposed British rule, that, however stupid and obstinate we might be, we were honest, and our intentions towards India had always been good.

MR. TAYAB SHAIKH said that Mr. Saggi had made a basic point on the Indian situation when he said that India, once free, would be able to maintain that freedom. During the two years he had been in this country he had represented the views of the Radical Democratic Party of India. Whenever people talked about India, whether Indians or Englishmen, they were only referring to the India of their own conception. India consisted of 400 million people (possibly now 450 million), and Mr. Saggi had taken that fact little into account. India, when she became independent from the British, which she must do, would not be free as far as the great majority of her toiling population was concerned. Once India was independent the Indian people would have to continue to fight for social and economic rights and genuine political freedom. Only 12 per cent. of the total population of India had the right to vote in the elections to the various Legislatures, and that did not represent the will of 400 million people. When Mr. Saggi talked about India he was all along concerned with the India represented by that 12 per cent. and no more.

Another point Mr. Saggi made was that the Constituent Assembly now meeting at Delhi had adopted a resolution for a socialist republic, and he would correct him. That resolution was published in the British press, and it did not say anything about socialism. Pandit Nehru was in the habit of talking about socialism, but always sup-

ported the official Congress point of view. Indeed, the resolution called for an independent republic. After the British had gone India would have no monarch, and obviously she must become a republic. Judged by all the facts, the Constituent Assembly did not represent the will of the Indian people.

The lecturer had made another vital observation which should not go unnoticed, and that was on the rôle of American capital in the post-war world. He had said that the Russians would not worry very much about getting into India, and he agreed; but he could not accept Mr. Saggi's view that the United States would not be interested in India. At the moment the danger to world peace, to India and to this country, was mainly from the United States financiers. It might not come in the form of an army marching from one frontier to another, but it would come in the form of American capital introduced into various industries all over the world. There was an arrangement that once the British cleared out of India the next step would be to invest American capital on a large scale, and then use India as the battlefield of the next world war.

This was a real danger, and because of it the Radical Democratic Party pointed out this fact to the British Labour Government, and contended that the next world war, if it did take place, would be fought not in Europe, nor in America, but in backward Asia. The only country that had a huge amount of surplus capital for profitable investment was America. America was able to undertake large-scale production of commodities profitably saleable in the competitive world market. This lucrative market was mainly available in the industrially backward Asiatic countries such as India. Therefore American capital would be able to penetrate backward Asiatic countries, and particularly India, with the same pretence as that of the East India Company.

While in America he had been asked by a number of important persons whether there would be any objection to America investing her capital in India, and he had replied there would be decided objections unless it was done just to help India. Undoubtedly there existed a danger to the whole world from American capitalism; America sought to dominate the world by means of her capital. Nehru was being guided by somebody not sitting in Whitehall but in the White House, and that was how the future of India was being decided.

As for the future of Indo-British relations, it would depend upon the measure of freedom that the average Indian had; it would not depend upon the measure of freedom that the Indian princes, the big industrialists and landowning classes had for the exploitation of the Indian working population, which comprised 98 per cent. of the Indian people.

SIR ALFRED WATSON said that he would like to pay testimony to the general fairness of the lecturer in dealing with the British record. When, however, it was said that the main Indian problem of today could be traced back to the Morley reforms, which started separate electorates, that was not correct. They went back to the entry of the Muslim community into India. There was nobody in England more opposed to a divided representation than Morley himself, but what was the alternative at that time? The Muslims insisted upon a separate electorate as the price of their consent to any reforms whatever. Refusal would have brought as much confusion in India in 1909 as there was today.

The lecturer had said that the Muslims must be given the right of self-determination. That would not be a settlement of the questions which divided India, but the beginning of new difficulties. The lecturer was not afraid of Russian aggression. Neither was he at the present time. Russia was much too occupied with her home problems and with problems in Europe to think of the invasion of India, but the time would come when Russia would have disposed of those difficulties, and, if there was confusion and chaos in India, as there well might be, then she might develop ambitions. When the lecturer said that the days of great empires had passed, he had better tell that to Moscow.

His main point had been that it would be to the advantage of India to remain within the British Commonwealth. That question was decided when the Constituent Assembly passed its resolution in favour of a sovereign independent republic. A

sovereign independent republic could not in any circumstances be included within the British Commonwealth of Nations. Whether India remained within the Commonwealth or whether, as the lecturer believed, she would opt for entire independence, was a matter for Indians themselves to decide; it was not something about which the British were anxious. The British had taken their decision. They were leaving India, and Indians had now to settle internally their own problems. It was hoped that the link with Great Britain, the link of friendship, would remain, but that again was a matter for Indian decision. There was ample goodwill on the British side as had been manifested in the long series of reforms which the lecturer had mentioned, and it was exemplified most of all in the decision to leave India to decide its own fate.

It would be vastly to the advantage of India to retain the link with Britain. She was Great Britain's principal creditor, and a creditor, if he was wise, treated the debtor with generosity and kindness. If India looked for great industrial developments, as she did, she must rely very largely on markets outside. Where would she find them except in the British Empire? Certainly not in America, which would require cash down for every transaction, and cash in dollars was not so easy to find in the world today.

Mr. H. S. L. POLAK wished strongly to associate himself with the statement that the position and the treatment of Indians in many parts of the British Commonwealth had done a very great deal to worsen Indo-British Commonwealth relations, particularly with regard to South Africa. The Chairman had asked whether the Indians in South Africa would be prepared to make a choice of citizenship, either Indian or South African, and he thought from what he knew of the Indians of South Africa, most of whom were born there, that they would willingly opt for South African citizenship if they were sure that they would be accepted by white South Africans as equal citizens, and not as racial subordinates. With regard to Canada, he had just had letters from Sir Robert Holland and Dr. Pardia stating that in British Columbia, where alone citizenship had been denied to Indians, it had now been granted to them by a new Bill which had just been passed. The effect would be that the Indians of British Columbia (who were the great majority of Indians in Canada) would not only enjoy the Provincial franchise but also the Dominion franchise, which was dependent upon the Provincial franchise.

Mr. KENNETH KEYMER spoke as one who had just had a three months' flying tour of North India, mainly from a business angle, but naturally much concerned with general conditions there. Firstly, and rather outside the sphere of his present comments, he desired to refer to the suggestion of one speaker that American finance might become something of a bogey in Indian affairs; it was his own impression there was so much free finance amongst the Indian investors that we in this country were in greater straits *vis-à-vis* American financial questions than was India.

There were two Indians; and the one he met as a friend and with the greatest pleasure, normally agreed that Great Britain was doing what she could to release India, but the moment that Indian got on to a platform or on to paper he tended to become very much the opposite. His counsel was that this attitude was seriously distracting from the vital negotiations for the future. It was essential at this time to keep the eyes on the ball, yet, instead, we were still being made the stalking horse; this fostered irresponsibility instead of advancing the true aim of a free India.

Two historical points that had been expressed were far from academic in this question. One was that Great Britain went into a happy peaceful India 200 years ago and had since downtrodden it. Two hundred years ago things were different; a few generations before that, even in this country, we could don our own private shields and march against our neighbours. At that time India was not united and peaceful; he did not know if it ever had been united. The relevant question was—what had we done since we entered? Flying over India one might get a more objective point of view, and the recent passages across India had given a more vivid impression than many previous times in Indian trains; flying over Sind—a vast

brown desert, and across it the tiny lines and the toy-like bridges over the rivers that marked the great effort of railway-making, then the green patches of a vast area irrigated. These were little tokens of what had been brought to the whole country. They had impressed him profoundly, and he would say that far too much was being said about past history—it should be omitted from these present considerations, and certainly it was not to be held up against us.

Secondly, we were accused of splitting India into two parts and fostering the division for our own ends. Democracy was a grand word, but for it properly to apply it must mean that the party of the hour could rule the country and that there was opening for a change of political view. We were at the moment feeling strongly on political matters in this country, and those people who felt strongly against what was happening had the knowledge that the voting could well change and so put in another Government. Apply that to India, however; roughly a quarter of the country had to say to itself: "Whatever happens we remain Muslims and the other three-quarters remain Hindu, and nothing can ever take us out of Hindu rule." That was not our making, and we were not trying to split India by these means.

He would urge Indians to forget both these factors and to concentrate, in the brief and vital months ahead, on trying to make a Constitution which would work.

MR. CHINNA DURAI said that having toured India recently he could say that everywhere he went he found excellent feeling in the country towards the people of Great Britain.

Referring to the possible danger to India from Russia which Sir Alfred Watson had raised, Mr. Durai felt that there was a great deal of truth in that, and the reason Russia might look towards India would arise from President Truman's call for the alignment of the Western Powers against a possible danger of some sort from somewhere. If this was directed against Russia, as he believed it was, she would wish to consolidate, strengthen and safeguard her position in the East, and where else would she look for this purpose but towards a divided and disunited India? The Communists were being arrested in India on a vast scale by the Congress Government, and they were not going to take this sitting down. They were bound to appeal to Russia some time or other, and all that Russia needs in her present frame of mind is some pretext or justification for the invasion of India.

In these circumstances, when Mr. Saggi spoke irresponsibly about India allying herself with Egypt, Australia and China, it seemed to Mr. Durai a very impractical—nay, meaningless—way of looking at this grave danger. India, certainly, needed much stronger contacts than that to be able to preserve her independence.

MR. SAGGI, in reply, said that a very useful discussion had followed his paper. The Chairman referred to the question of discipline in the Indian Police and Indian Army under British rule. He agreed with him to a great extent, but he still felt that Indians were as capable of discipline as anyone else, as was evinced in the various campaigns. The Police and Army had already a majority of Indians in them, and this tradition would persist even when they are under Indian officers.

Regarding the Cripps proposals, Sir Lancelot Graham said that every organized body rejected them for various reasons. If he (Mr. Saggi) understood it correctly, the Cripps proposals were not rejected, they were withdrawn. They were still being discussed when the position changed, the proposals were withdrawn and Sir Stafford Cripps left India quite hurriedly. There was a great section of public opinion in India which felt that India should have accepted these proposals.

Mr. Shaikh spoke on behalf of the Radical Democratic Party. He did not agree with what Mr. Shaikh said with regard to American capital being invested in India. America was the richest country in the world. He could understand that she would wish to expand, but he did not understand that American finance was such a danger or a menace. Mr. Shaikh felt, and perhaps he was correct, that there was some sort of connection between capitalists in India and capitalists in America. He personally did not hold any brief for American or Indian capitalists, but he felt that Americans would not be a menace to the peace of India so far as her economic life was concerned. It was for India to keep herself and strengthen her position rather than to

say that others were a danger to the peace of India. The same had been said about Russia. He had been hearing since 1930 that there was a great danger from Russia, and some people felt that the policy followed in Afghanistan and the abdication of Amanullah were part of the same question. He did not agree that Russia was a great danger.

Indians were not Communists; they could not be by virtue of their religion, their democracy and so many other things. There were ideological differences, but it might be a question of the survival of the fittest. If Russia ever did become a danger, America and Britain and others who crushed fascist forces would also fight for democracy as would India.

The question of separate electorates was controversial, and much had been said on both sides. He agreed with Mr. Keymer that they must look more to the future than to the past, but the separate electorates played a great part in the future of Indo-British relations as they stood today and as they would be tomorrow. Most of the controversial political problems of India today could be traced back to that.

The Chairman had said that Indians must choose whether they wished to remain as Indians or as citizens of South Africa. The Indians did not choose to go to South Africa, they were forced to do so. (No, no.) The Indians were taken as forced labourers in 1833 under the indentured system, which was unjust and unfair. They were assured by the Secretary of State that after completing their contracts they would be free citizens, but they found many difficulties and problems.

Mr. W. KIRKPATRICK : Mr. Polak made a very dangerous claim, and the speaker is supporting him in suggesting that Indian labour, which was not forced labour, would be in a much worse position as regards their racial relations in India than they are in Jamaica, South Africa and other places.

The CHAIRMAN : There are hundreds of Indians who want to go to Kenya, South Africa and the West Indies.

Mr. SAGGI said that that was quite another question. India was a vast and populous country, and all could not choose in the same way. He still felt that Indians in South Africa might choose to become citizens of South Africa if they were not subjected to any disabilities, social and political, and if there were no colour bar, as it existed today. Mr. Chinna Durai referred to the cultural contacts between India and England, and he agreed that they had been great. Indians had learnt a lot from the English, their political institutions, their history and their trade. If there was much goodwill on the part of England there was much goodwill on the part of India as well. Indians wanted to become free, but they did not want to break their link with England, and they would wish to try to carry on trade with England more than with anyone else, because they felt that they knew the English business man better than anyone else.

Mr. HILTON BROWN proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer, Mr. Saggi and to the Chairman, Sir Walter Smiles, which was accorded by acclamation.

THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF PAKISTAN

DISCUSSION ON THE PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Tuesday, March 18, 1947, at the Overseas League, St. James's, S.W. 1, the Right Hon. Sir JOHN ANDERSON, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., M.P., presiding. Dr. Anwar Qureshi (Economic Adviser, Hyderabad State) read the paper on "The Economic Basis of Pakistan," given in the April issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* (pages 160-6).

The CHAIRMAN, introducing Dr. Qureshi, said that it would not have escaped notice that Pakistan had a political aspect apart from its obvious economic aspect, and he wished to make it clear at the beginning of the proceedings that discussion would have to be confined to the economic aspects of the subject.

After the reading of the paper,

The CHAIRMAN said he wished to call attention to certain points which he thought would naturally occur to those who had listened to Dr. Qureshi's address. There were two assumptions underlying Dr. Qureshi's argument. One was that the political change would come about in a peaceful way; this was something to be wished for earnestly, but it involved another assumption—that a State could maintain its existence independently without any provision for defence.

It was unnecessary to take too pessimistic a view of the future of the world in order to entertain some misgiving as to what the political future might be of any State, wherever it was located, which was, as a matter of deliberate policy, defenceless. That had an important bearing upon the matter.

The other assumption which Dr. Qureshi obviously made was that under Pakistan the boundaries of a wholly independent Muslim State would be the same as those which had been contemplated for a Muslim group or for two Muslim groups forming part of a larger unit. Those who were familiar with the local circumstances, including the local topography, would realize that that was not an assumption which could be regarded at this stage as wholly realistic.

Passing from these assumptions, Dr. Qureshi made it quite clear that the facts on which he based his argument were drawn in the main from the part of India which he called Group C—the Punjab, Sind, the North-West Frontier and British Baluchistan. This was not wholly typical of the whole of the areas which would be included in Pakistan.

There was just one other point in Dr. Qureshi's address to which he would invite attention, and that was his argument that it was practicable to contemplate an economic system in which unpaid service played a very much greater part than all experience of modern times would suggest could be reasonably taken for granted. He knew of parts of India where there was a labour tax or a land tenure, which included an obligation to give labour; but while theoretically it was no doubt possible that an economy might be maintained to a very large extent on a basis of unpaid labour, which was open to anyone, he doubted whether that would provide a sure basis on which, in these modern times, to establish a new political system.

Mr. GODFREY NICHOLSON, M.P., said that the highest compliment that could be paid to Dr. Qureshi was to examine his ideas in a realistic way, and he was sure that Dr. Qureshi would not feel that a critical approach was an unkind or unsympathetic one.

Four years ago the late Sir Hassan Suhrawady read a most interesting paper to the Association on Pakistan, and the Association did endeavour to approach this problem without any bias. He hoped that Dr. Qureshi realized the ordinary Englishman's approach to the idea of Pakistan. In the first place there was intense sympathy with Muslim feeling in India; it was felt that Muslim civilization had been somewhat

eclipsed in the last hundred years, especially when its great and glorious past was considered, and it was the earnest wish of all Englishmen that the Muslim nation in India should find itself, and find satisfaction, in a free India. But the whole idea of splitting up a country was difficult for the Englishman to assimilate: it did not seem right or natural, for he looked with reluctance on anything which tended to create less unity than there had been before.

The Chairman had forbidden politics, but politics could not be separated from this, because a great deal depended on how Pakistan was defined. India today was suffering from an obsession with political issues, with a corresponding disregard of economic realities. In the end, the future of India would be regulated, if not solved, by the economics of the situation, and Mr. Jinnah's dictum that the economics would look after themselves could not be accepted. It did not seem to be realized how delicate was the equilibrium in the Indian situation. India carried an immense population, almost an artificially large population, and a very slight interference with the economic mechanism was bound to have disastrous results, not only on the standard of life of the people, but on their actual chances of survival. He found it easier to believe that Group B could have an independent existence because it included a large grain-producing area, and usually had an exportable surplus, but even so, what was to be the future of the Umbala Division and other districts which had Hindu majorities? Was the Punjab, the country of the five rivers, to be deprived of two divisions, and no longer be the country of the five rivers? What about its capital requirements? He understood that part of the Punjab was in grave danger of becoming waterlogged; surely there would have to be large capital expenditure to deal with that problem? Canalization, too, entailed capital expenditure. There would not be much chance of the Punjab even keeping up its present standard of life if it gave up two of its most fertile districts and set up as a completely independent undertaking.

He noticed that Dr. Qureshi did not deal with Group C (Bengal). He did not blame him; it was a very thorny problem and very controversial. From the ethnographical map it would be seen that the Muslim population was concentrated in the eastern districts, and the western districts were chiefly Hindu. The real keynote of Bengal and of the problem was Calcutta, 75 per cent. of which was Hindu. Was it conceivable that that could remain with Pakistan? If it did, was it conceivable that Calcutta could have a future and maintain its position as the capital of a small State with a rural background? There were problems which seemed to be almost insoluble.

Everything had been changed by the recent declaration of the Government. It was now for India to decide. There was a great tendency amongst Indian politicians and some British politicians to say that India had to learn to govern herself, that omelettes could not be made without breaking eggs, and that there would be inevitable bloodshed. He protested against that point of view. We had become callous because of the terrible suffering of the last few years. There must be a return to the times when there were real standards of respect for human life and happiness, and the view must not calmly be taken that India had to find her own destiny even if it meant the loss of several million lives. The idea that because people did not fit in to the picture they should be pushed on one side should not be presented to India or to the world. India faced great damage if that spirit of callousness was allowed to grow.

Dr. Qureshi must make allowances for the Englishman's bias towards unity, but he must also understand that he had a deep sympathy with Muslim feelings in India. The ideal of Pakistan lit up the heart of toiling Muslims all over India—the speaker did not underrate that—and we in this country felt bound to do everything within our power to bring to Muslim India a feeling of self-realization and integration.

Sir HENRY CRAIK, on behalf of the Council and members of the Overseas League, welcomed the East India Association to the Hall of India. He also wished to join in the compliments to Dr. Qureshi. Although they might not all agree with his conclusions, all would recognize the enthusiasm which underlay his remarks and the detachment of his point of view.

It was for the Muslim nation or community to decide on its own future, and he found difficulty in escaping from the conclusion that any constitution imposed on

the community from outside would lead to violence. Whether the setting-up of an independent Muslim State would lead to violence was open to question, but its rejection seemed certain to do so. If he accepted that postulate by Dr. Qureshi he could not follow him in his rosy outlook on the economic future of the northern part of Pakistan, in which Sir Henry had spent more than forty years, and with the problems of which he could claim a more than superficial acquaintance. He had the deepest sympathy with the Muslims of the Punjab, and would be sorry to see them condemned to economic deterioration which he thought would be the consequences of the setting-up of Pakistan.

Dr. Qureshi had based his arguments mainly on the conclusions of the Memorandum prepared by Dr. Matthai and Sir Homi Mody in 1945, in which they declared that the northern section of Pakistan could "maintain" existing standards of living and meet existing requirements, excluding defence. But that Memorandum went on to state that to raise the standard of living and to maintain the existing defence forces any scheme must provide for effective and continuous co-operation between the separate States—that is, between Hindustan and Pakistan—in the economic and foreign spheres.

Was there any reasonable prospect of such close co-operation? He was very doubtful. The Matthai-Mody Memorandum also stated, on the question of defence, that it was not reasonable to suppose that if Pakistan became an independent State it could substantially reduce the existing scale of expenditure on defence. On the contrary, the possibility was that it would have to be increased and would prove to be a serious item. The Memorandum concluded by saying that without continuous co-operation the division of India into separate States would spell stagnation and economic disaster. There was not very much support for Dr. Qureshi's view of Pakistan in that.

There was another assumption underlying Dr. Qureshi's scheme and that was that he was calculating on the authorities, both legislative and executive, of Pakistan exerting a like degree of intelligence and resolution in proposing taxation and collecting it as the present régime did. Was there not a possibility of a rapid deterioration in this respect? In that case the economic future would be very far from secure.

His main objection to Pakistan and the whole idea underlying it, although he admitted that it might be inevitable, was that this claim and the agitation which had grown up in connection with it had had the effect of completely destroying, possibly for ever, the one constructive piece of work done in India since the reforms of 1921 were initiated. That great statesman, Sir Fazli Husain, then founded in the Punjab the Unionist Party. He was a man of political sagacity and foresight, with far more vision than any leader of the present day. He saw clearly the evil of communalism, and that there could be no progress if all administration and all political activity were to follow on communal lines. He founded this great party, which was essentially a coalition party bringing in the Sikhs and Hindus, and which gave the Punjab a stable Government and great material advancement over a period of more than twenty years. Even after his death in 1936 his successors carried on his tradition, and in every way their administration conferred great benefits on the Province—education came within the grasp of all, communications were enormously improved, agricultural methods were improved, irrigation and the co-operative movement were extended and the standard of living was raised all round.

Now these considerations were pushed into the background by the Muslim League in their agitation for Pakistan in a Province where there was no threat to Muslim predominance or Muslim interests at all. What was the result? The Punjab was at the moment practically in a state of civil war as the result apparently of the recent agitation of the Muslim League. He hoped that the situation would soon clear and the Governor and his depleted band of officers would be able to restore order. But the outlook for the future was not happy, and if the present spirit is going to prevail there could not be a Pakistan which would be either well administered or economically secure.

Sir HENRY TWYNAM said that his intention was to dwell particularly on the fiscal aspects of Pakistan in the light, or shadow, of the momentous declaration of Feb-

ruary 20, fixing the date for the British departure from India. In view of the Chairman's warning he would endeavour to be as non-political as possible and to deal with the subject objectively. He wished to point out some of the immense difficulties which faced the Government of India and the Home Government within the limited period before June, 1948.

The Chairman, Mr. Godfrey Nicholson, and other speakers, had brought out two of the main limitations of Dr. Qureshi's argument. The first, and the minor one, was the question of boundaries. It seemed difficult to believe that Pakistan, however necessary it might be, could embrace the Umballa and Jullundur Divisions of the Punjab, or the Burdwan Division of Bengal. Calcutta should be regarded by itself because its population was largely fluctuating; many of its inhabitants were those who went to work in the jute mills, etc. The natural boundary was the Hooghly River; the Muslim majority districts came down to within a very short distance of Calcutta.

Far more important than the question of boundaries was the question of defence. He did not see how it would be in any way feasible to hand over India in June, 1948, without a Central Government. The Army in pre-war figures used to cost something in the order of 52 crores of rupees; of this, 24 crores were contributed from Bengal Province. Bengal contributed only 2 per cent. of the man-power of the Army, while the Punjab contributed 50 per cent. and paid one crore of rupees. Could one believe that there would be any enthusiasm in Bengal to pay for an Army consisting largely of Punjabi Muhammadans? Another important point was the attitude of the Congress Government towards the Army. Anyone who had had any experience of dealing with the police in India knew of the constant pressure brought to bear on the Government to recruit the police from the communal persuasion of the powers that be. It was certain that the Congress Government would not stand for an army consisting of 50 per cent. Punjab Muhammadans; that raised a difficulty of immense importance.

How would that be solved between now and June, 1948? If there was no Central Government it was implied that there was no Commander-in-Chief, and what was to be done with the Army? There were the three commands—Northern, Eastern and Southern; could it be intended that the Northern Command would be handed over to the Punjab Government, the Eastern Command to the Bengal Government, and the Southern Command to the Bombay Government? Such a thing could not happen, and even if an attempt was made the Indian units would not acquiesce. He knew how difficult it was to maintain the proper compromise according to community in the battalion and what friction there often was. He could not believe that the Army should be allowed to break up in the fashion it certainly would if the British were to retire from India by June, 1948. It would be a classic example of "disorderly liquidation." Were we to set a high standard in the world for disorderly liquidation after 200 years of endeavouring to govern the country with justice?

There was great ambiguity in the Prime Minister's statement. He said, "It was on strong advice from India that this date was fixed." What did that mean? Was it strong advice tendered by Mr. Nehru, was it strong advice tendered by the Congress Party, or strong advice tendered by the Governors? From whatever source that advice emanated it seemed to have been overlooked that there were two things involved. It might be a good thing to fix a date for the settlement of the Indian-British dispute, but one could not fix a date for the settlement of a dispute between third parties. Who was going to pay the Army, the Central services, the Customs, Posts and Telegraphs? Bengal could not pay these services, the Punjab could not pay. How were all these questions to be determined in a brief period of just over twelve months? Government departments were not so notorious for expedition as all that.

He would like to recommend, if it was within his right to do so, that the Indian leaders should call a truce and have a pact (they had had pacts in the past) and agree to postpone these controversial questions—which were not merely leading to civil war, because civil war was already in being in India—for a period of two years, so that we could, at any rate, make an orderly liquidation of our responsibilities, and in the hope that in due course that truce might resolve into something better.

Dr. SHAHANI said that he found himself in total disagreement with Dr. Qureshi. He himself did not belong to Congress or to the Muslim League, but he was an Indian who loved his country and would like it to be independent and great, and he could not possibly see how Pakistan could come into being. Many of the arguments put forward by other members spoke for themselves. He would merely say that Pakistan was like dismembering a vital limb of the body. Hindus and Muslims were so intermingled that to separate them out was an impossible task. He had asked the father of this idea, Sir Muhammad Iqbal, whether he really believed in it, and he replied that poets were supposed to be the legislators of the world, but added they could be pretty bad ones. That was why in England he was glad that literary people had less influence than politicians. There were no quarrels between Hindus and Muslims in the villages; the quarrels were between politicians and people who wanted jobs, and he had not much sympathy with them.

Mr. Z. A. SULERI (Secretary, Muslim India Information Centre) said that the question was not how Pakistan could come into being, but how it could be prevented from coming into being. Dr. Qureshi had said that this was a question of the self-determination of the Muslim nation, and the question was whether one wanted to grant that right to the Muslim nation or not. The demand for Pakistan had been heard on the grounds both of economics and defence, and he was in full agreement with the protest of Mr. Nicholson when he said that lives must not be lost in India; but wars started in the West, it was not in the East that it happened.

He was surprised that so many people who had served in India should emphasize the issue of defence. This was a wrong approach, one which had been responsible for all these wars. It was only by making a strong world organization that the world could be saved, otherwise it was a delusion to suppose that a united India or India united with China could be any defence against the atom bomb. The defence problem did not exist at all, even if we were able to produce weapons which were not more than twenty years out of date.

Pakistan was a demand for a new pattern of society, which had nothing to do with economics or defence. It was foolish to suppose that any country would be self-sufficient in the field of economics, defence or anything else, and this did not apply only to Pakistan, it applied to Persia and France. They had to stand together to see whether their legitimate rights would be given to the people who demanded them. In India it was the same question between Hindus and Muslims as it had been between India and Great Britain; what the Hindus wanted was domination. The Muslims did not want that any more than India wanted the domination of Great Britain. To continue to approach the question of Pakistan from the point of view of economics and defence was misleading.

Dr. QURESHI, in reply to the discussion, said with regard to the Chairman's point on voluntary labour that it would be compulsory labour—labour in kind. It might sound tyrannous to ask people to do work on the roads; the other alternative was taxation out of which to pay the workers. Endeavours were being made to find full employment in India—that is, sustained employment—and in that way better conditions of labour could be enforced. If people wanted to pay for substitutes they would be able to do so. People would be told that it was part of their taxes.

He appreciated the difficulties of the British approach to the subject pointed out by Mr. Godfrey Nicholson. British rule had made a great contribution to India, it had created conditions of security and unity; but the time had come to review the situation because India was not a land of one nation. He did not feel competent to speak about conditions in Bengal because he had had no experience of them, and with regard to Calcutta the position was the same as in other capitals—there was a large proportion of non-nationals in them.

With regard to the partition of the Punjab, if Umballa Division was taken away from Pakistan, personally, because it was a dominantly Hindu area, he would feel quite happy. It was a great liability and not an asset. It was a famine district, and on the grounds of logic the position would be much happier if Umballa was taken away from Pakistan. In spite of the clamour on behalf of the Sikhs there was not a

single district in the whole of the Punjab where the Sikhs formed the majority; they combined with the Hindus to form a precarious dual majority.

Sir Henry Craik knew more about the Punjab than anyone else present. The speaker had a great respect for the work which the late Sir Fazli Husain did. He went to the other extreme, and the electorate was created in such a way that only certain families could be elected in certain districts and no one else. He did not understand the contention that Pakistan would cause a reduction in the standard of living. If there was stability Pakistan would have a much better proposition to offer to Britain than Hindustan, and Pakistan's credit would be as good as anyone else's because there would be surplus materials which would enable trade negotiations to take place. Pakistan's claims for industrial development were very sound, cotton, oilseed and so on were produced.

With regard to enforcement of taxation, whatever Government was in power it would be a difficult job. He appreciated the remarks of Sir Henry Twynam, but the country should not be left in its present chaos. With regard to a truce, on what basis should a truce be made? The Cabinet Mission suggested a ten-year truce, in effect, but it was not accepted. He fully associated himself with Mr. Godfrey Nicholson's remarks; every single life was precious, and no liberty was worth while if it was based on bloodshed, or which perpetuated this type of civil war and bloodshed.

A vote of thanks to Dr. Qureshi and to Sir John Anderson was proposed by Sir MAURICE HALLETT and carried by acclamation.

A NEW CHARTER FOR ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES IN GREAT BRITAIN

BY PROFESSOR R. L. TURNER, M.C., LITT.D., F.B.A.

LAST year was the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of Sir William Jones, one of the greatest Oriental scholars that these islands have produced. Jones's life was short—he died at the age of forty-seven—but his influence upon Oriental studies was profound. A student of Arabic and Persian from his undergraduate days at Oxford, appointed a judge of the Supreme Court in Calcutta in 1783, founder of the Asiatic Society (afterwards the Asiatic Society of Bengal), a Fellow of the Royal Society, he aroused by his writings an intense interest in Oriental languages and literatures among the scholars of Europe. It was after reading Forster's German version of Jones's translation of *Śakuntalā* that Goethe wrote the lines, known to all lovers of Indian literature :

Willst du die Blüthe des frühen, die Früchte des späteren Jahres,
Willst du was reizt und entzückt, willst du was sättigt und nährt,
Willst du den Himmel, die Erde mit einem Namen begreifen,
Nenn ich Sakontala dir, und so ist alles gesagt.

Nor was Jones alone. To the same period belong the names of other great English Orientalists—Wilkins, Carey, Colebrooke, Wilson, to name but some.

With such a beginning it might have seemed not improbable that the succeeding centuries, which were to witness so vast an expansion of British interests—military, political and commercial—in Asia as well as Africa, would also witness in England itself the growth of a great and general concern with the languages, literatures, culture and history of those lands. Surely it was to be expected that the Universities of England and Scotland would embrace, with an enthusiasm at least equal to, if not greatly exceeding that of Continental universities, studies not only in themselves of such interest from the humane and academic standpoint, but equally from the political and commercial standpoint, so important to the welfare of their people.

"INCURIOUS"

Alas, it was not to be so. It is true that the East India Company, with a clearer realization of the practical advantages of so doing than has been vouchsafed to its successors, extended a generous patronage to Oriental learning in encouraging publications both in its Haileybury establishment and in Calcutta. It is true also that the pioneers at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries have been followed by other great names: within our own times I recall Browne, whose death was felt in Persia to be a national bereavement, and Grierson, whose work will provide one lasting monument of England's connection with India. But how few have been their numbers, either in relation to the vast range of studies offered by the Orient or in comparison with the much larger number of Continental, especially French and German, scholars, whose works are as highly regarded in the East as in the West. Nor, owing to the apathy both of Universities, with one exception, and of successive Governments, has there developed among the public at large any general interest in or enthusiasm for these matters.

A little more than fifty years after Jones's death, H. H. Wilson, towards the end of his life, in an address delivered in 1856, said: "As long as English society is so incurious with respect to Oriental literature, it need not be a matter of surprise that the numbers and the labours of English scholars should be overshadowed by the much more imposing array of Continental Orientalists."

INQUIRIES

Another fifty years, and in 1906, in a Memorial which was addressed to the Prime Minister and which led to the appointment of the Treasury Committee presided over by Lord Reay, we read:

"While the facilities offered for the study of Oriental languages in London are so slight, it is obvious that the needs and interests of London in respect of these subjects are very much greater than those of any other European capital, alike from the point of view of administration and of commerce. Your Memorialists cannot but regard it as a most startling and disquieting fact that so meagre a provision is made in London for instruction in Oriental languages . . ."

In place of "London" we may, of course, read "Great Britain," for outside London provision for such studies was on an even more meagre scale or was not to be had at all.

Ten years later the Leathes Committee on Modern Languages, appointed by the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, in the middle of the first World War, reported to Mr. Lloyd George in 1918. What had that Committee to say of the study of Asiatic and African languages?

"This country, above all others, should be the home of learning for all the chief and almost all the minor non-European languages. Chinese, Japanese, Turkish, Arabic, the languages of India, the Malay group, Hausa and Swahili, are only a few of the tongues for which we have greater or less need for commercial and administrative purposes. . . . As time proceeds, the demands of that School [the then recently founded School of Oriental Studies] must become indefinitely great. . . . We must recommend that the Government should give the School their continuous and liberal support, and build up on an adequate footing new departments as opportunities offer. . . . One hundred or even two hundred thousand pounds a year would not be an excessive estimate of expenditure, which, if wisely applied, would return a far greater national profit. It cannot be too often repeated that in such matters the nation is one economic unit, and profits in every part (not least in the Exchequer) by each new and successful enterprise and by the extended development of foreign commerce. Such new sources of wealth are certainly rendered more accessible by better knowledge of foreign languages."

Thirty more years have passed, and yet another commission, the Interdepartmental Commission of Enquiry on Oriental, Slavonic, East European and African Studies, appointed by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs during a still greater war, have presented the report* which is the occasion of this paper. Lord Scarbrough's Commission describe the circumstances which gave rise to their enquiry in the midst of war. Their words have a familiar ring.

"The mobilization of all available assistance and support had called for an understanding and knowledge of the peoples of the world which we were ill-equipped to supply. The under-developed state of our store of knowledge and the small numbers of our countrymen with any detailed acquaintance with the culture and economy of the peoples of Africa and the East stood in marked contrast to the intimacy of our contact with them in the joint struggle to save the world from a return to the dark ages. . . . For reasons which we give, we consider that the study of the civilizations and languages of these countries is of such great importance for this and for succeeding generations that it would be harmful to the national interest to allow the present state of affairs to continue . . ."

The period covered by these four quotations is almost exactly coeval with the connection of the Crown of England with the Empire of India. The Crown assumed direct responsibility for the government of India in 1858; in 1948 it relinquishes it to Indian hands. If in the past our rulers had listened to the advice pressed upon them both by private persons and public commissions and had adjudged (with the Scarbrough Commission in this latest report) the study of the civilization and languages of India to be of prime importance for the people of this country, one of the foremost Indian leaders, in speaking of this coming relinquishment, might have used other words than these: "We wish to remain friends *even* with Great Britain."

Actually, as the Scarbrough Report implies in several of its passages, there had been a considerable improvement in the provision for Oriental and African studies in this country between 1906 and 1946. Just as the Scarbrough Commission owed its appointment to a realization of deficiencies rammed home by the hard demands of war, so too the recommendations of the Reay Committee, presented in 1908, reached fruition in the middle of the first world war. The School of Oriental Studies received its Royal Charter as a School of the University of London in 1916, and early the following year opened its doors to students. Under its first director, the late Sir Denison Ross, who guided its development for twenty-one years, the new School made rapid progress. The University of London, displaying a greater wisdom and foresight in this matter than was apparent in several Government Departments to whom the encouragement of such studies might have been thought a vital concern, steadfastly fostered its growth, so that now it stands a great institution, unique of its kind, in its own buildings on the University site, with a staff of nearly 100 professors, readers and lecturers and attended by upwards of 1,000 students in a year.

WAR-TIME DIFFICULTIES AND SERVICE

I venture to think that those who conceived this project deserved well of their country. In particular I refer to Sir Philip Hartog, who, when secretary to the Reay and Cromer Committees, by his wisdom, energy, persistence and refusal to admit defeat did more than any other to translate the conception into fact. The Scarbrough Report, as I have already indicated, refers to the difficulties with which, in a war embracing almost the whole world, this country was faced because of its lack of persons acquainted with the ways of life, the habits of thought, the languages of its Eastern allies and enemies. How much greater would those difficulties have been if there had not already been brought into existence an organized body of men and women, possessing much of this so badly needed knowledge and trained in the art of imparting it to others! As in the uneasy years of peace, so also in the first years of

* H.M. Stationery Office, 1947, 3s.

actual war Departments of Government were slow to avail themselves of the help offered; but when at last by the stark march of events the need was brought home and immense demands came to be made upon the school, its staff applied themselves with an enthusiasm and energy that never flagged to the work of repairing the long-standing refusal to make ready for what to some had seemed inevitable eventualities.

At first evacuated to the country, on its return to a London about to endure the enemy's air attack, housed in hopelessly inadequate accommodation, then contending with a war-time ministry for the occupation of even a part of its own building, the School had to overcome considerable difficulties of organization.

The first important undertaking was in connection with the censorship. There were many languages with which the postal censorship, despite careful preparation, was not equipped to deal. The services of the School were offered and, after due deliberation, accepted. During the period 1941 to September, 1945, the School examined or translated more than 32,000 documents composed in 192 separate languages.

A greater contribution was made by the Service courses. In the first year courses were held for a small number of Service students in Arabic and Turkish. In 1940, after the fall of France, a course for members of the Free French, who were to go to Africa, gave those brave men and women not only some instruction which would be of service to them there, but also confidence in the future through the recognition of the potential value of their contribution to the cause of freedom.

The vast expansion of the Indian Army, with its 2,000,000 volunteers, called for an increasing number of officers from England. Several hundreds attended the special courses in Hindustani before sailing for India. In the same way, before the fall of Burma, officers destined for the Burma Defence Force came for courses in Burmese.

Thousands of Japanese knew English, a small handful of Englishmen knew Japanese. The necessity, or perhaps the possibility, of training more was obstinately denied by Departments facing other terrible and pressing problems. Thus when war did come in the Far East it was the desperate need of all three Services for men who could listen in to, read and speak Japanese that placed the greatest strain on the resources of the School. The Department of the Far East and the Department of Phonetics and Linguistics, under the inspiring leadership of Professor E. D. Edwards and Professor J. R. Firth, rose to the occasion with enthusiasm and success. Outside the School other centres were established, but the School remained the chief source of supply. In all, through these years and mostly between 1942 and 1945, a total of 1,674 Service students passed through its classes.

All this is now fast becoming ancient history. The last of these special classes, which were later extended to include Malay and several dialects of Chinese, came to an end this May. I have dwelt upon it, because it proves the wisdom of those who in the past demanded, and secured some measure of, public support for Oriental and African studies and because it may hold lessons for the future. We come now to the problems of peace, of reconstruction, of the re-establishment of commerce, and of the fostering of the comity of nations. It is to the solution of these problems, in so far as a wider knowledge of the languages and cultures of the East and of Africa can contribute to it, that the Scarbrough Report addresses itself.

CHANGED CONDITIONS

As long ago as 1800 the Marquess Wellesley directed that the education of the company's servants should include "an intimate acquaintance with the history, languages, customs and manners of the people of India."

A hundred years later the authors of the Reay Report, after reviewing the evidence offered by representatives of firms trading not only with India but with Eastern countries in general, wrote: "There now exists a very strong feeling that if the British are to maintain and improve their commercial position in the East and the Far East, a knowledge of Oriental languages must be regarded as indispensable to the businessman doing business with Oriental peoples."

Since 1908, when this was written, immense changes have occurred over the whole

Eastern scene. These changes, already in progress before the outbreak of the war, in 1939, have been enormously quickened and extended by that vast catastrophe. And every one of these changes reinforces the admonition of Wellesley in 1800 and of Lord Reay's Committee in 1908. The dominating feature is the upsurging of a national spirit in all the peoples of Asia and its islands. This is the basic fact from which flow the recommendations of Lord Scarbrough's Commission. Allow me to quote from one of the most pregnant passages of the Report :

"In all the countries of the East the rise of a politically conscious class, increasing rapidly in numbers and influence, has led to a very natural desire to emphasize the value of each country's own traditional culture and to assert its independence in political and commercial relations with the countries of the West. It has long been the traditional view in Great Britain that the growth of nationalism in Asia should be met with sympathy and encouragement and that it should be the aim of British policy to make in good time the adjustments necessary to meet the changes that the rise of nationalism brings about. Over the past twenty-five years Great Britain has been making these adjustments by deliberate acts of policy. India, the most striking example of all, stands in the open doorway of political freedom. Burma and Ceylon have achieved constitutional advance. Iraq, like Egypt, has attained independence. Changes such as these loosen the political ties and alter the commercial ties on which for long our relations with these countries have been based, and we may lose all intimate contact with the peoples of Asia, unless, as we release political control, we make a conscious and imaginative effort to build a new relationship on the foundation of mutual interest in our respective ways of life and thought and in our cultural achievements.

Progress in this new relationship has not kept pace with political change. In the case of China, for example, the general public has only begun to be aware of the importance of Chinese civilization; and in the East generally we discovered when war broke out how lamentably ill-equipped we were for intercourse with Oriental peoples. The war gave a great impetus to national sentiment, especially in the East, and there is greater need than ever to find this new relationship. In the whole of Asia our political influence and our commercial position alike will depend upon our ability to establish with the peoples ties of a kind which they will readily accept.

We would stress the great importance of this problem. The peoples of Asia comprise more than half the population of the world. From them have sprung civilizations of great antiquity, which are now renewing their ancient vigour by a process of cross-fertilization with the civilization of the West. If we are to preserve close and intimate relations with the nations of Asia we must develop in our own country an interest in the cultures of the East of a quality which will command the respect of Eastern scholars and on a scale which will in time spread its influence among the general public of Great Britain."

Nor can these considerations be confined to Asia. For if a new Asia has been born a new Africa is in gestation. Of the implications which these changing conditions hold for British trade in particular, the Commission say :

"We need not enlarge in this report on the importance of the expansion of our export trade and its vital bearing on our standard of living. To cope with the task with which they are faced, British business firms will need every measure of assistance which can be provided. A knowledge of languages and of the people amongst whom they work is today a more indispensable part of the equipment of those engaged in overseas trade than ever before.

With some exceptions British firms have not in the past attached much importance to training of this kind, but it appears to us that new conditions are arising, particularly in Asia, which will make such training increasingly necessary. There is reason to believe that some of our competitors are planning to meet these conditions, and we share to the full the views of those representatives of British industry and commerce who have emphasized the increased importance of this form of training to the expansion of our export trade."

SPECIAL INTENSIVE COURSES

Recently, acting on the advice of the India-Burma Association, some firms trading with India have sent a number of their employees to attend special intensive courses extending over one University term at the School of Oriental and African Studies. I am informed that the reports received by at least one of the larger firms from their managers in India testify to the advantages of this preparation. Reports made by the students themselves to their headquarters in London after arrival in India, as to the value or otherwise which they attached to the preliminary training they had received are illuminating.

One writes :

"In the first place let me state quite definitely that I am thankful that I had the opportunity to learn a little of the language before arriving in India."

A second :

"Looking back on our course in London I cannot think of anything that we were taught which has not come in useful. . . . The language part of the training has proved very useful indeed. Right from the time we landed it was noticeable. Hindustani did not seem like gibberish chattering. . . . I am positive that if it had not been for the training we had before coming out, I would have found it very difficult, and probably have been the same as other people and said : 'To hell with it!' and never learnt the language."

A third, after six months, writes :

"I have tried with the limited time at my disposal to discover for myself many of the interesting things I was told about in London. . . . I personally believe that the greatest benefit it gave to me was the inspiration to learn the language. . . . I would like once again to stress the point about the importance of the desire to learn the language of the country. . . . By taking the course in London, interest is stimulated from the beginning, which otherwise, I feel, would not be created. This point, I think, is of paramount importance."

Others refer specifically to an aspect, to which commercial witnesses before both the main Commission and all its sub-committees attributed a high degree of importance. The writers state that what they learnt on the course, not only of language but also of the general Indian background, made noticeably easier the establishment of social contacts from the very start.

Multiply this experience a thousandfold, and the result will show itself not only in the trade returns, but also in that more imponderable but equally vital return, a growing goodwill between Englishmen and Asiatics meeting henceforth on a basis of equality and mutual help.

To achieve this end the Committee, as we have seen, postulate the development in our own country of an interest in the cultures of those peoples "of a quality which will command the respect of Eastern scholars and on a scale which will in time spread its influence among the general public of Great Britain." How is this to be secured? The answer of the Commission is : "By an organized effort to be made over a period of years to establish Oriental and African studies and to maintain them on a permanent basis in the higher educational institutions of Great Britain."

THE UNIVERSITIES

Earlier, in their analysis of the present position of the Universities in respect of this problem, they had pointed out that except in the University of London there were only isolated chairs in most of these fields of study (it would have been truer still to say "in only a few of these fields") and that owing to shortage of staff and inadequate financial provision far too little research work had been done by British scholars in most of these subjects. Nevertheless, the Commission look to the Universities as the prime agents for the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge in these fields.

To enable the Universities effectively to carry out this task they prescribe one essential condition—namely, that in place of isolated chairs strong university departments providing a variety of teaching should be built up and that these departments should be developed independently of undergraduate demand. This last condition, which is essential to the plan, but which at first sight may seem to be contrary to the laws of supply and demand and to be one which Universities might normally hesitate to accept, is justified by the Commission on two grounds :

“First, these studies, which are of national importance, have yet to be placed on a proper foundation of scholarship and research.

Secondly, much more than the teaching of undergraduates is entailed. The supervision of graduate students from among whom must come the teachers and research workers of the future, the training of official services, such as that now planned for the Colonial Service, the provision of short but authoritative courses for business men and others whose work will take them abroad, the endless tasks of research which await scholars in these fields, and, we hope, as fruit of their labours, the output of publications based on accurate scholarship and designed to leaven the public knowledge of these countries—all these are functions which will devolve upon these departments and which amply justify their creation and development.”

One University already has not hesitated to accept this responsibility, and, proceeding from the initial impetus of the Reay Committee, has built up over a period of thirty years, despite the restricting limits of its resources, a School of Oriental and African Studies, which contains five regional departments of Africa, the Near and Middle East, India and Ceylon, South-East Asia and the Islands, the Far East, as well as two departments of Oriental History and Law, and of Phonetics and Linguistics, staffed, as I have said, by nearly 100 full-time University teachers. I have already indicated the contribution which the University of London was thus enabled to make in time of war to the national need and for which the nation could have looked to no other body. Equally, in time of peace, the far-sighted and beneficent plans of the Devonshire Committee for the training of the Colonial Services could not be made effective without the existence of this School of the University of London. But perhaps of even greater significance for the future and justifying fully the proposal of Lord Scarbrough's Commission is the fact that out of the 900 students attending courses at the School this year 150 have been reading for University degrees and diplomas, and that of these, in marked contrast to pre-war experience, the majority are domiciled in this country.

Recognizing these facts, the Commission recommend that the whole range of Oriental and African studies should continue to be pursued and developed in London, but that at the same time other Universities throughout England and Scotland should be encouraged and enabled to build up strong departments within particular fields upon the basis of existing chairs, or to develop them *ab initio*.

A GOOD RETURN

All this is going to cost money. To meet the needs of Russian and East European studies (with which this paper is not concerned) as well as the whole Oriental and African field the Commission estimate that the Universities will require an additional £225,000 a year by the end of five years and double that sum by the end of ten years. In addition, they recommend an annual expenditure up to £50,000 to enable teachers to travel and study in the lands with which they are concerned, and an average of £40,000 a year for the first five years to finance post-graduate studentships. This last provision is essential to the building up of the future academic staff.

The greatest and most far-reaching benefits which will flow from this expenditure by the taxpayer cannot be estimated in terms of money. Nevertheless, in the assistance it will give to the indispensable expansion of our trade it will return a rate of interest far above that which the Chancellor of the Exchequer allows those who lend to him. As I said at the beginning of this paper, the Prime Minister's Committee on the Study of Modern Languages appointed in 1916 when the value of

money was greater than it is now, reported with reference to Oriental and African languages alone that £100,000 or even £200,000 a year would not be an excessive expenditure, which, if wisely applied, would return a far greater national profit.

THE NEED FOR PROMPTITUDE

As I wrote this paper I found myself again invaded by a sense of urgency. Since the opening of the twentieth century one committee after another has presented its report—the Reay Committee, envisaging the large and constant growth of the modest School of Oriental Studies, whose foundation it recommended; the Leathes Committee, with its recommendation that the Government should give their continuous and liberal support to that School whose demands they judged must become indefinitely great; Lord Zetland's Inter-departmental Committee, which sought, just before the war and in preparation for that dire event, to double the Government grant for Oriental studies. These were all unheeded or little heeded. During the war the advice of scholars was again and again thrust aside by unimaginative officials, military as well as civil, only to be taken later, sometimes too late. England of the nineteenth century could, without apparent loss, neglect to foster these cultural links with a subservient East or with an Africa still partially unmapped. But England of today is not England of the nineteenth century, and Asia of today is not Asia of the nineteenth century. In the future Englishmen will go to the East with no greater prestige than they had in the early days of the East India Company; and never before have we depended so much upon our Eastern trade for our very bread as we shall do in the years immediately to come.

These were the urgent considerations which in 1942 impelled Sir Philip Hartog and myself to seek an interview with the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Richard Law, in order to suggest that, if we were to be ready to meet the demands of the post-war period, the time had come to set up another Commission, whose duty should be to review the whole question of Oriental and African studies and to advise on the measures necessary to be taken. To our plea Lord Hailey added his more powerful interest with the Secretary of State, who by his early training was perhaps more inclined than many to give due weight to the importance of these problems. For at Oxford Mr. Eden had taken his degree *in literis orientalibus* with First-Class Honours in Arabic and Persian.

PLANNED DEVELOPMENT

In 1944 Mr. Eden announced his decision to appoint an Inter-departmental Commission. Once appointed, the Commission, under the guidance of the Earl of Scarborough, conducted their enquiry with energy and despatch, and signed their Report in April, 1946. But another whole year passed before the Report was published. In a reply to Mr. Eden in the House the Minister of State, Mr. McNeil, on March 17 announced the forthcoming publication. He said that the Government approved the recommendations of the Report in principle; that they were prepared to make financial grants; and that machinery was being devised to enable the Government Departments and Universities concerned to give effect to the Commission's recommendations.

If past experience is a guide, to plan the whole development for all the Universities which will be concerned in it will take much time. Some have still to be selected; the plans of others are not yet precisely formulated. Let those who are ready get on with the job. The University of London laid a full and detailed programme of development before the Commission, of which in general the Commission approved. Such part of this programme as could, if funds were available, be realized during the next five years, was included in the first post-war quinquennial estimates submitted by the University to the University Grants Committee of the Treasury. Let a part of the grant which the Government state they are prepared to give be made at once available to the University of London. With each year—nay, with each month—of delay the conditions for initiating the enterprise will become less favourable.

Circumstances have never been so propitious for the awakening of interest over the whole vast field of these studies. There are now in this country tens of thousands of persons recently returned from a direct experience of Eastern and African countries.

The number of young men and women who are interested in the East and in Africa and who have been given, within the walls of a University, an introduction to their languages, thought, culture and literatures, has never approached so high a figure. Some of the very best of them are eager to devote their lives to these studies, if only they are given the opportunity.

Adopted, the Scarbrough Report will be a new charter for Oriental and African studies in this country; rejected or long delayed, the chance of a great and beneficent development will be lost, perhaps for ever. Compared with the proposals of this Report, relatively huge sums are spent on scientific education. Advance in the natural sciences offers great benefits to the human race; it threatens also dangers and misery of the direst kind. Advance in these studies can bring benefit only.

[A report of the discussion on the paper delivered on June 19, with LORD HAILEY in the chair, will be given in the next issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*.]

WELCOME HOME TO LORD AND LADY WAVELL

"A FIRM BELIEVER IN INDIA'S FUTURE"

THE President (the Earl of Scarbrough) and Council gave an afternoon reception at the rooms of the Royal Society, Burlington House, on June 11, 1947, to welcome home Earl Wavell, on relinquishment of the Viceroyalty of India, and the Countess Wavell. Invitations had been accepted on an exceptional scale, and some 500 guests were present. They were received by Lord and Lady Scarbrough, and were also greeted by the guests of honour, Lord and Lady Wavell. Before refreshments were served,

LORD SCARBROUGH said: The members of the East India Association have some understanding of Indian problems, either through their own personal experiences or because of their deep interest in Indian affairs. Along with that understanding goes also some appreciation of the task which falls on those who go out from this country to take up the post of Viceroy and Governor-General—that great charge which, when measured by the weight of responsibility which falls on one man, has very few equals in the world. And so it is that our Association, during the eighty years of its existence, has always wished to hail the Viceroy of India as he sets out to take up his task and when he returns home, to wish him God-speed in the one case and to welcome him back in the other.

This is one more of these important occasions, and we are deeply grateful to you, Lord Wavell and Lady Wavell, for accepting our invitation and so giving us the opportunity to shake you both warmly by the hand and to welcome you on your return to this country.

Lord Scarbrough added that he knew that if he was to retain the regard of Lord Wavell, which he wished to do, he must indulge in no words which he might consider unnecessary. Nevertheless, at some risk of Lord Wavell's opinion of him there were certain things which he would venture to say and which he believed he would be saying on behalf of the East India Association and on behalf of the great majority of his countrymen. If they looked back over the course of the war one thought which would strike them was that when things were at their worst there were a few men upon whom were thrust the most difficult tasks which in the light of the means at their disposal might appear to have been hopeless tasks. Those few men were expected to make the best of things and somehow to extract success.

This country still remembered the men who were not dismayed by conditions of that kind, and who in desperate times could make a calm judgment of affairs, calculate the risks, take the risks, and if the risks went well gave the credit to others, and if they went wrong took all the blame upon themselves. Among those few men stood pre-eminently Lord Wavell. None of them would ever forget, in whatever

part of the world they might have been at the time, those days in December, 1940, when the first victory was won, the first victory in the Western Desert; and what that meant for the greatest single factor in war, the morale of the people, no one could say. So long as they remembered the history of the war so long would Lord Wavell be remembered by the British people for that great event.

And then towards the end of the war there was thrust upon him another extremely difficult task—that of bringing India through what were inevitably to be the most difficult of all times, the days when India emerged from war to peace.

Lord Wavell was himself an historian, and the speaker knew he would not think much of him if at this short distance of time he attempted to describe the history of Lord Wavell's rule in India. But this he would say without fear of contradiction from anyone, that to have brought India through those extremely difficult days, and, in addition, to have given Indians of all opinions a complete belief in his sincerity at a time when suspicion was very rife in India, was to have laid the foundation without which no hope for the future could have been built. If today they who cared for the welfare of the peoples of India were looking forward now with some hope to the future, he felt quite certain it was right to ascribe a great deal of the success to the hard work done by Lord Wavell in the most difficult times during the past three and a half years.

On the monument in Calcutta to Sir James Outram were inscribed the words, "Many wise rulers, many valiant captains, has his country sent hither." In Lord Wavell we sent to India both a wise ruler and a valiant captain.

And so they, the members of the East India Association, who had their interest always in Indian affairs and had some understanding of Indian problems, some appreciation of the task that had fallen to Lord Wavell, felt it a great privilege to welcome back Lady Wavell and himself and to express to him in some measure their thanks for the work they both had done during their time in India.

LORD WAVELL, who was enthusiastically received, said he was very much touched by their welcome. It was nearly four years since the East India Association gave him a reception when he was starting out on his Viceroyalty. He remembered that Mr. Amery, who spoke then—and whom he was very glad to see there, because he had been a very great and wise friend of India, as some day would be recognized—said that the sagacious elephant always tested the strength of the bridge before he used it. The speaker's reply was that the sagacious elephant had to find or build a bridge. Well, he had done his best, but he was afraid he had not always succeeded in building a bridge strong enough for the elephant, but he hoped he might have done something towards laying the foundation and helping India on her path. If he had it was only a debt he had repaid to India because he owed India a great deal for some very good years when he was a young subaltern out there, and to the Indian Army and to India generally for her magnificent troops, and for the part she played in the war and her help to win success in various fields.

He would like to say again how much he owed to all those who worked with him or for him, the Governors, his colleagues in the Ministry, the Princes, and the Indian Civil Service. The magnificent work of the latter during the years of war under very great stress and strain, such as perhaps could hardly be realized, would certainly be appreciated by all who knew it. Everywhere he had met with great co-operation and with a very great deal of friendliness, in spite of any mistakes he might have committed.

They could not expect him to say anything about the present situation in India, which it would obviously not be right for him to comment upon in detail, but he would like to make one or two points. Firstly, he was quite clear and convinced that the general policy towards India during the last years had been on broad lines entirely right and correct. There had been mistakes and disagreement in detail, but he was certain that when history came to be written, what this country had done in these years towards the progress of India would be acclaimed as a very great piece of statesmanship. This country of all countries believed firmly and had always been prepared to fight for freedom, and it was only just and right that we should give India her freedom, and try to give it to her in the best possible way.

The second point he would like to make was that probably some of his hearers felt rather sad at the present state of India or at some of the things that had happened. They might feel that some of the work they had done in India and for India in the past had been wasted and lost, and the particular things for which they had worked were not the same, and had perhaps in their view altered very much for the worse. But he was quite certain that their work had not been wasted. Because the flowers planted had been gathered that did not mean the crop would be wasted; fresh flowers would be planted and grow up. Because a fresh crop had been planted it did not mean that the ploughman's work or the farmer's work had been wasted. Fresh crops would be grown, and as long as things were going forward on right general lines nothing would be wasted.

The third point was that India had some very dangerous, difficult and critical years ahead, but he was quite sure that there was no reason whatever to despair of her future. The first pangs of entering on the new order are always unpleasant, especially perhaps if it were twins; but he was convinced of the future of India and felt that after the changes she would settle down.

He was watching with a great deal of admiration the dynamic personality of his successor and what he had accomplished already in the way of agreement. He was sure they would all agree that no one could possibly have done more in the last few months than he had done. They would all wish Lord Mountbatten success in his efforts to bring about a satisfactory conclusion. That was all he had to say, except to repeat that he stood there as a very true friend of India, as they all were, and a very firm believer in her future.

(End of the Proceedings of the East India Association.)

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS IN BARODA

BY M. H. SHAH, M.A.

THE question of fundamental rights for citizens has assumed vital importance now in India as the new Constitutions of the country are on the anvil. A special committee of the Constituent Assembly set up under the Cabinet Mission plan drafted a list of fundamental rights to be enjoyed by the citizens of the peninsula. The report of the Committee was discussed by the Assembly, and a part of it was accepted.

The Committee had been set up before the States representatives joined the Constituent Assembly, and when Sir B. L. Mitter, Dewan of Baroda, the first State to announce its decision to join the Constituent Assembly irrespective of other States joining it or not, and not to set up an independent State, was appointed a member on the Fundamental Rights Committee, along with Sir V. T. Krishnamacharia, former Dewan of Baroda and now the Dewan of Jaipur, it was realized that the first draft of the Fundamental Committee had not taken the States' viewpoint into account. Sir B. L. Mitter presented this to the Committee, which accepted it unanimously.

Citizens in most of the Indian States today enjoy very limited fundamental rights. It is only in the big and advanced States like Baroda or Mysore that the citizens fully enjoy such rights. The Maharaja Gackwar holds very advanced democratic views, and his subjects possess a large number of fundamental rights. A brief review of these rights will certainly be of interest. There are few rights provided for in the draft which are not already operative in Baroda.

No person in that State can be arrested nor his dwelling be entered except under processes of law. Similarly, no property can be entered, sequestered or confiscated except in accordance with lawful authority. Orders of the executive as regards property in revenue jurisdiction are challengeable in courts of law. Elaborate provision as regards arrest, house search, confiscation of property, etc., have been made in the State Criminal Procedure and Land Revenue Codes, as also in rules framed thereunder and in the Police Act and Police Rules. The powers of police officers are defined in the Police Act and Rules made thereunder. These essential rights are secured by legislation in Baroda in exactly the same way as they are in British India.

Every person in the Baroda State has a right under law to a writ of *habeas corpus*. Specific provision has been made for this purpose in the local Criminal Procedure Code. A bench of the Baroda High Court has laid down that the plea of the "act of state" cannot be used in a well-regulated Government against private rights of person or property of the subjects not in rebellion or in a state of war.

Baroda subjects also enjoy the rights of free expression of opinion, of free association and combination, and to assemble peacefully without arms and without military formation for purposes not opposed to law or morality. The district magistrates have been empowered by law as in British India to issue notification curtailing these rights only in special emergencies. The validity of these notifications are challengeable and are often challenged in courts of law as in British India.

Every person in the State enjoys freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess and practise his religion, subject to public order and morality. This right has been secured to him by the "Freedom of Religion Act" of 1901. All persons in the State are treated as equal before the law, irrespective of religion, caste or creed. No *begar* is taken in the State. Protection against this system is given by "Veth Begar Niyam" of 1891.

The administration of justice is carried on generally on the lines in force in British India except for the salutary departure of absolute separation of the judicial and executive functions. The administration of justice is vested in the High Court, which functions independently of the executive. The High Court, as the highest civil and criminal court of justice, was established in 1871, and has been functioning uninterruptedly for *seventy-five years*. Soon after H.H. the late Maharaja Sayajirao III came to power in 1881, complete separation of judicial and executive functions came into effect. The High Court has established noble traditions of integrity,

independence and impartiality. Its pronouncements of important questions of law and fact are published in the Baroda law reports.

The constitutional status of the High Court is recognized by a special part of the Government of Baroda Act. Under section 37 judges cannot be removed except on the ground of misbehaviour or of infirmity of body or mind. Thus the impartiality and independence of the highest tribunal is guaranteed. Its competence has been secured by the requirement of high legal qualifications for the judgeship. While the executive has nothing to do with the administration of justice, acts of the Executive, including those of the Executive Council, are challengeable in the courts. The High Court has been vested by the Government of Baroda Act with powers of control and superintendence of subordinate courts and of framing rules for regulating its own practice and procedure. In so far as they exercise powers under the Criminal Procedure Code for preserving order the Executive officers are also under the control and superintendence of the High Court.

Further there exists the Huzur Nyaya Sabha, corresponding to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, to entertain and dispose of civil and criminal appeals and extraordinary applications against the decisions of the High Court.

There is suitable and adequate provision in the State Civil Procedure Code for the impartial adjudication of disputes between individuals and the Government. There are no restrictions curtailing the jurisdiction of the civil courts except those in force in British India. Acts of Executive, including those of the Executive Council, are challengeable before civil courts. This right has been affirmed in a series of judicial decisions.

The administrative budget and the civil list are clearly demarcated. The civil list does not exceed a fixed percentage. The incidence of taxation in the State is fair and equitable, and large portions of the revenue are allocated for the benefit of the people, particularly in the nation building departments.

The representative institutions in the State have been systematically established and developed, and the administration bears the stamp of the voice of the people. A legislative house known as Dhara Sabha was established as far back as 1908, while the District Local Boards, Gram Panchayats and Municipalities originated even earlier. The Dhara Sabha has an elected majority of members based on wide territorial franchise. Three non-official members of the Dhara Sabha have been appointed members of the State Executive Council, and are in charge of certain departments of the State. The Deputy President is elected by the Dhara Sabha, and the President is also to be so elected. Four parliamentary secretaries have been appointed from amongst the elected and nominated members of the Sabha. The Dhara Sabha has power to legislate in all matters and to vote on certain heads of the budget, subject to the restriction that matters relating to the Army, Household department, treaty relations with the Paramount Power, etc., are removed from its legislative competence, and no discussion in regard to these matters is allowed when the budget is under consideration. Certain expenditure has been classified as expenditure charged to the revenues of the State and is not submitted to the vote of the Dhara Sabha. Other proposals for expenditure are to be submitted to the Dhara Sabha in the form of demands for grants. The Dhara Sabha has to assent or refuse to assent to any demand, or to assent to any demand subject to a reduction of the amount; but any motion passed by it will become effective only when accepted by His Highness.

PROGRESS IN INDIAN STATES

(BY A CORRESPONDENT)

THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS

IN his inaugural address to the first Legislative Assembly Sir Mirza Ismail, then Prime Minister, insisted that no one, least of all the Government, claims that "the Constitution is more than a step forward, a great experiment, and, if you like, a novel experiment; and much of the criticism that has been lavished on it is probably due to its novelty." Very wisely: "The Constitution is not deduced from any abstract or doctrinaire theory of democracy, but is based on the hard realities of life in these Dominions. If that is its apparent weakness, that is also its real strength. It is not shaped to the pattern set by Westminster or New Delhi, but has an individuality of its own." Forms of government, despite the theorists, are not an end in themselves, but are to be judged by the extent to which they promote the greatest good of the greatest number. As Sir Mirza Ismail remarked in a comment not applicable to Hyderabad or India alone: "The challenge of our time, on the physical plane, is the poverty of the masses; on the mental plane, their ignorance; on the spiritual plane, mutual suspicion and strife." The task assigned to the new Assembly is, above all, to "promote the good of the people of the State without sacrificing their freedom." The aim of His Exalted Highness and his Executive, as its past achievements and current activities and programmes attest, is to make Hyderabad great in every sense—happy, prosperous, free. These facts assume additional importance from the decision of the Government of H.E.H. the Nizam to exercise the option to be independent of either Hindustan or Pakistan. This conclusion was reached at the first Council meeting after the return of the Nawab of Chhatari to the presidency.

By way of extending education, financial provision has been made for compulsory primary education in selected areas, while in the sphere of public health funds have been allocated for extensions of existing staff and accommodation on a scale representing an increase of 162 per cent. in expenditure over 1939. The programme of agricultural development includes plans for research, crop improvement, horticulture, dry farming, bunding, marketing, and all the appropriate forms of demonstration and publicity required to induce the peasantry to modernize their practices as rapidly as current facilities and resources permit. Concurrently large funds and immense administrative effort are being applied to those large schemes of planned development, which in many British India Provinces await a greater degree of political stability, but which in Hyderabad are going forward simultaneously with the liberalization of her Constitution.

Notable projects in this sphere are provision for the construction of 600 miles of new railways, and of 3,500 miles of new roads, in addition to the erection of reinforced bridges at points establishing direct communication between Hyderabad on one side and Madras and the Central Provinces on the other. Of Rs. 44 crores allocated to meet the road programme, Rs. 7 crores will be expended in the first period of five years and the balance in three succeeding periods of the same duration, the implementation of the programme being assigned to a Highways Department created for that purpose. Having co-ordinated all forms of transport for the past fifteen years, Hyderabad is perhaps more favourably situated than any other part of India to ensure ordered progress in relation alike to rail, road and air equipment. A natural accompaniment of more and better roads will be more and better motor transport—another State undertaking—especially for passengers. Orders placed so far are for 30 double-deck and 290 single-deck buses, the former carrying 56 and the latter 36 passengers each. Negotiations for 100 more buses are in hand. The lorry fleet has been increased in the last three years from 35 to 220, the objective being a complete scheme for public service, with out-agencies at all important places. The expansion now broadly anticipated will expand the State fleet of motor vehicles from 562 to about 1,000, and requires the construction of new central workshops

and depots both at headquarters and in the districts. The capital at charge of the rail and road services is now Rs. 16-20 crores, and the increase involved in the implementation of the above plans is about 80 per cent. of the existing capital. Most of the expenditure is for development of the country by new lines and for the provision of new rail and road services. A corollary of the air transport service is the decision to convert Begumpet into one of the best planned and equipped aerodromes in India. At present the State fleet comprises eight Dakotas, to which will be added two planes capable of carrying forty passengers, each to operate on the Madras-Delhi route.

Although coal-mining is one of the leading industries of the State, hydro-electric possibilities are also being developed, as exemplified by the Nizamsagar scheme (Rs. 39 lakhs) and the Godavari Valley Development scheme (Rs. 146 lakhs). In relation to industrial production, a balance is being maintained by extending aid and encouragement both to the handloom industry and to modern textile mills, which are to be increased on a scale adequate to the requirements and raw materials of the State. The range of State participation in industrial enterprise is measured by an increase of 1,053 per cent. in 1947 over the pre-war year 1939. In this context, as Sir Mirza Ismail stressed: "One great handicap is the dearth of technicians, a deficiency which these Dominions share with the rest of India. But the Government has not been idle. It has been decided to establish an industrial and technical organization staffed by experienced engineers, economists and planning experts to prepare and examine industrial schemes and advise the Government on matters concerning the promotion of industries. At the same time, Government is sending promising young men for technical training abroad." Orders worth about £5,000,000 have been placed in the United Kingdom on behalf of the State for capital goods, including textile machinery, rayon mill equipment, machine tools, thermal power-station equipment and light engineering machinery. The establishment of six new textile mills involves the acquisition of 404,540 spindles and 7,111 looms. A new central oil factory will produce 30,000 tons of *ghee* annually. Other projects contemplated include plastics, chemical fertilizers and cement.

TRAVANCORE

The decision of Travancore State to become an independent political unit was made previous to the publication of the procedure plan of H.M. Government on June 3. It was explained by the Dewan, Sir C. P. Ramiswami Aiyar, in a statement which merits wider publicity than it has yet received. If India remained united Travancore would gladly join the Union, but India is not remaining united. Economic and financial factors are also included in the calculation. For example, 20 per cent. of the State's food requirements are met with imports from Sind and the Punjab, and at a juncture when India's overall food shortage runs to 4½ million tons of grain, and when the present Central, and co-ordinating, Government is moving rapidly towards extinction, Sir "C. P." obviously regards the food-supply factor as all-important, as indeed it is. On the other side of the account, the State's rubber surplus is absorbed by the rest of India, and, as the Dewan envisages the outlook, "it is therefore obvious that the State cannot join any one part of India exclusively, but must keep on friendly terms with both sides. That does not mean that there will be no close co-operation between Travancore and the future Central Government, or Governments, of India." The financial aspect concerns the State's future revenues. According to the report of the Constituent Assembly's Union Powers Committee, the revenues of the Union Government would include excise and import and export duties, but Travancore, the Dewan emphasized, being a maritime State, and therefore largely dependent on these very sources of revenue, cannot surrender them to the Union Government.

That these objections to inclusion in Hindustan are not merely a cloak for any form of political obscurantism may be deduced, not merely from the Dewan's own political record, including his former association with the Congress Party, but also by the terms and provisions of the Travancore Constitution Act, 1122, published in *The Travancore Gazette Extraordinary* (April 8, 1947). Of the two Chambers of the

Legislature, it is provided that the Council shall be composed of members elected on a functional and facultative basis from amongst the members of institutions, professions, trades, labour and other organizations and occupations; while the Assembly will be composed of members elected on the basis of universal adult suffrage. No official may be elected to either Chamber. Each Chamber will hold at least one session every six months, and legislation may originate in either Chamber, certain subjects being excluded, such as measures affecting the Royal Family, Devaswoms or Hindu Religious Endowments, the Armed Forces and external relations. The Dewan may, where a Bill has been passed by both Chambers, as also in any other case, return the measure for reconsideration by either Chamber. As was also to be expected, no Bill can become law until assented to by the Ruler. Subject to the provisions of the Act, the policies formulated by the Legislature must be carried out and implemented by the administrative authorities and departments of the Government, the control of the Legislatures being exercised through Administrative Committees elected by both Chambers.

In the economic sphere Travancore is important as a State rich in some of the rarer minerals, including those essential to the production of atomic power either for destructive or constructive purposes. Its deficiency as a food producer has added to the justification for the local manufacture on a substantial scale of artificial fertilizers - sufficiency in terms of food supplies being of increasing importance as India ceases to function as one administrative and economic unit—but it may not be so generally appreciated how large a contribution Travancore is now making to India's supply of aluminium goods. In fact, from 1943 onwards the whole of India's requirements of aluminium were supplied from the Travancore factory. This manufacturing plant and the rolling mills at Calcutta produced sheets and components for the manufacture of aircraft parts, radio and field equipment, range-finders, binoculars and field hospital equipment. During the last two years of the war many thousands of long-range fuel tanks were manufactured for use by fighter aircraft in the Burma campaign from aluminium produced at these two factories. From a technical point production operations in the Travancore factory compare favourably with those of large production units in Canada and the U.S.A. The Travancore factory is shortly expected to produce 5,000 tons of aluminium per annum. Incidentally, the contents of these short paragraphs supply a vivid illustration of the close interdependence of the various units in India for purposes both of food and defence.

MYSORE

One handicap Mysore shares with Hyderabad, and indeed other important States, is lack of independent access to the sea: a handicap of much greater political and economic consequence in the divided India now emerging than it has been hitherto. Whether the negotiations affecting Bhatkal, now in train between Mysore and the Governments of India and Bombay, will have the sequel desired only time will reveal, but at such a period the latter administrations may well find many pretexts for deferring final decisions despite the strong case for early action. Indeed, thirty years have already elapsed since the project was first broached, and as the technical and financial aspects have already been the subject of adequate analysis, the political hurdle is the only one remaining to be cleared, and not improbably it will prove the most formidable. On the other hand, while there may have been convincing reasons for withholding port facilities from leading States under the old régime, under which the Government of India virtually financed defence from the yield of Customs duties, in the event of most of the Indian States hereafter becoming directly responsible for their own defence, the former justification will have lost its earlier validity, and the whole issue will require reconsideration *de novo*.

In this context the immense value of States like Mysore and Hyderabad as sources of defence materials and equipment, as exhibited during the recent World War, is a factor which India's new Central Government(s) will find it difficult to ignore. The importance of this consideration will be accentuated if, as anticipated in some quarters, certain forms of industrial enterprise show a tendency to migrate from British India to the larger States in pursuit not only of greater political security, but also of lower

taxation levels, and labour less susceptible to Communist control. Be that as it may, the Mysore Administration, under the direction of its very experienced Dewan Sir Ramiswami Mudaliar, is maintaining its policy of intensive industrial expansion, and, as noted in the official organ of the Chamber of Princes, the spirit which inspires all this large-scale development is summed up in the following Mysorean appeal: "We are very proud of the products of our factories, and at the risk of being called provincial, try to set before all true Mysoreans the ideal that they should wash themselves with Mysore soap, dry themselves with Mysore towels, clothe themselves in Mysore silks, ride Mysore horses, eat Mysore food, drink Mysore coffee with Mysore sugar, build their homes with Mysore cement, Mysore timber and Mysore steel, furnish their houses with Mysore furniture and write their letters on Mysore paper."

THE ADVISORY PLANNING BOARD TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

A REVIEW OF THE REPORT

(BY A CORRESPONDENT)

THE Board was appointed October 26, 1946, to review the planning already done by the Government of India, the work of the National Planning Committee set up by Congress, and other plans. It was also to make recommendations as regards the future machinery of planning, objectives, priorities, co-ordination, etc. The chairman was Mr. K. C. Neogy, and amongst the members were Professor K. T. Shah, of the National Planning Committee, and Mr. E. P. Moon, Secretary, Development Board. It is perhaps surprising that it was not found possible to utilize the services of Sir A. Dalal, late Member for Planning, or any of the Indian officers who served in his Department.

The report, although it contains much that is of interest, is not quite up to expectations and its arrangement might perhaps be improved. The recommendations may be compared with those contained in the second report on Reconstruction Planning and the Statement of Industrial Policy, which in many respects it confirms. The report and its appendices appear to be based on the work of the former Planning Department and form an unconscious tribute to its work, which does not, however, receive any other acknowledgment.

The main body of the report, which deserves detailed study, is in four parts. Part I is not, as its title suggests, a review of planning already done, but is a statement of the material and evidence available to the board. Part II deals with objectives and priorities, and, taken as a whole, appears to confirm the policy of the Government of India.

Part III makes recommendations for the co-ordination and improvement of planning. It emphasizes the necessity for co-operation and a common policy as between the Central and Provincial Governments, and the importance of building up the national wealth so as to form a sound basis for the expansion of social services. It confirms the financial assumptions on which the Government of India plans have so far been based. Amongst the measures to be considered for raising the necessary funds are death duties, the creation of additional money (*i.e.*, inflation) and external loans.

On the important subject of agriculture it recommends the setting-up of an executive authority in each district to carry out plans of agricultural development, and possibly the development of cottage industries. It also recommends Government support of agricultural prices when necessary and the use of compulsion if required to ensure effective action by landlords or cultivators.

The report pays special attention to river development and electric power. It

refers to the need for an organization to co-ordinate the work of development in each river basin and recommends the amalgamation of the two bodies now dealing with electric power, irrigation and waterways. Whether this will in practice lead to increased efficiency is by no means sure, but in theory the proposal is attractive.

As regards industrial planning, the report confirms the suitability of the methods adopted by the Planning Department, and discusses the procedure to be followed in dealing with the reports of the industrial panels. It emphasizes the importance of central planning, and adopts much the same list of industries for this purpose as were selected by the previous government. The recommendations in respect of nationalization, in view of the political background of this subject and the appended memorandum by Professor K. T. Shah, are not very alarming, though it is suggested that the nationalization of coal, mineral oils, iron and steel, motor, river and air transport should be considered.

The section on foreign capital and management states that foreign capital will not be required for direct investment in industry, but suggests that it will be necessary to import technicians "on the usual terms." It confirms, however, the policy of the previous government as regards highly specialized industries, whereby control of management might be left in foreign hands for a limited period.

As regards other industries, the rather remarkable recommendation is made that the intrusion of foreign firms should not be allowed. This appears to be contrary to previous statements on industrial policy, which indicated a desire to co-operate with British industry subject, in the case of basic industries, to Indian control.

The report goes on to say that it would be preferable to continue to import goods from overseas rather than permit manufacture in India to be developed by foreign firms.

This section on industries is perhaps the most controversial. It ignores the fact that modern large-scale industry cannot be created by merely hiring technicians, and that it is desirable to secure the advantage of the vast knowledge, experience and research technique possessed by the big firms already engaged in manufacture by modern methods. The closed economy proposed is not likely to result in any great readiness on the part of foreign firms to make their best technicians available to Indian firms, to train Indians in their factories, or to be willing to see their own nationals displaced to make room for Indians in technical schools and colleges.

The policy recommended by Sir A. Dalal, though nationalistic enough, was surely more in the real interests of India and did not shut the door on co-operation with foreign industry. That such co-operation may be valuable may be seen in the many projects for joint Indian-British development that have emerged in recent years. The increasing tendency towards indianization of British firms in respect of capital, management and technical staff is a sign of the advantages of such co-operation, and if allowed to develop will no doubt lead naturally to a healthy development of purely Indian concerns that will compete on equal terms with the mixed firms, as indeed many do today.

As regards mines and mineral development, it may be noted that, although a reference is made to nationalization and the exclusion of foreigners, it is stated that the public ownership and management of all mining and mineral industries does not appear to be immediately realizable.

The paragraphs dealing with education and health services are disappointingly brief, but it is to be hoped that this merely implies endorsement of the recommendations contained in the Sargent and Bhore Committee reports. Great importance is attached to technical education and training, which is regarded as priority No. 1.

Part IV deals with the future machinery of planning and, as might have been expected, does not regard the existing machinery as satisfactory, and states that "there exists no agency for tracing the interactions and repercussions of all the various plans, projected or in operation." It points out that the Co-ordination Committee and Development Board are unsuitable organizations to exercise an effective control of planning. It does not, however, recommend the re-establishment of a Planning Department, possibly for the political reasons that are said to have led to its abolition, and possibly because the Union Centre, if it ever comes into being, is not likely to include planning among its responsibilities. It may be noted, however, that the same is true

of the existing Central Government in respect of many important subjects of development such as agriculture, irrigation, electric power, education, health services, roads, etc. This has not, however, prevented a great deal of useful work being done by the various Departments concerned.

As an alternative the Board recommends "a small whole-time Planning Commission of not more than five, or less than three, members, furnished with a secretariat and technical assistance and reporting direct to the Cabinet." With some hesitation it recommends that the chairman should not be a minister but a non-official with a general experience of public affairs. It does not make clear who is to represent the Planning Commission in the Assembly.

This Commission is to be supplemented by a consultative body of twenty-five to thirty members, consisting of representatives of the eleven Provinces, of the States, and of agriculture, industry, commerce, etc.

This organization does not seem likely to be very effective. It fails to recognize that plans can be prepared only by full-time experts who have at their disposal the whole of the resources of information, statistics, personnel and experience possessed by the various Government Departments at the Centre and in the Provinces. This indicates that detailed planning should be carried out by the responsible departments, who alone have the resources and the powers necessary to execute them. Similarly, the co-ordination of planning as a whole requires a full-time official staff or secretariat working in intimate day-to-day contacts with the departmental agencies responsible for detailed planning, with the Finance Department, and with the Governments of the Provinces and States. It is only through the work of such a staff that the material necessary for policy decisions by a Planning Minister or Commission can be derived.

The Advisory Board realized no doubt the necessity for building up an effective organization, and it is to be hoped that this will be worked out in consultation with those who have had actual experience of the working of the Planning Department.

The proposed consultative body is, in effect, a form of parliament, and is not likely to do more than provide a platform for the various interests. It would perhaps have been preferable to have retained the more specialized Policy Committees for each main subject, as already set up.

As regards the rest of the report, the summary of the Five-Year Plans is useful but necessarily incomplete. It contains too much detail to be easily readable, but not enough to permit of detailed criticism and examination. The same may perhaps be said of the resources budget; this, however, is obviously only a first draft, and as such is very valuable. The marrying up of plans for the development of basic resources such as coal, steel, timber, cement, bricks, etc., with the probable demand, taking into account future development in industry, agriculture, transport, etc., is obviously of great importance. The results of the failure to do this in Great Britain are only too obvious at the present time.

It remains to refer to the notes by members. Mr. Neogy makes a plea for private industrial enterprise, which is reinforced by Mr. G. L. Mehta. Professor K. T. Shah contributes a memorandum in which he advocates national state socialism. He devotes considerable attention to the administrative, political and constitutional difficulties involved in carrying out his policy, without, however, arriving at any very satisfactory solution. He assumes, perhaps too easily, that the various Provincial and State Governments will agree to give a central organization the necessary authority to carry out planning. Furthermore, while he recognizes the inability of the Government to exercise successfully the functions required, he proposes to set up a vast administrative machine, pervading every aspect of national life, separate from the ordinary machinery of Government. This is to operate under a Director of National Planning, who appears likely to become a national economic dictator.

As regards private enterprise, which he wishes to abolish as soon as possible, he demands such close and detailed control that it is quite certain that all initiative and enterprise will be stifled. One of his objects is to establish complete national self-sufficiency and Government control, or even monopoly, of foreign trade. It is clear, therefore, that he does not favour present efforts to free international trade from restrictions and thereby to promote a universal improvement in the standard of living

and of employment. His theories savour in fact very much of Russia and, even if this is not intended, it seems likely that if put into practice they will lead to much the same results as in that country. Whatever may be said for or against Socialism, it is clear that the one essential condition is a highly efficient Government machine, and recent experience in Great Britain has shown the danger of placing too heavy a burden on even the most efficient administration. It is really no solution to set up parallel machinery or vast corporations to control almost every aspect of the social and economic life of the country. This is merely Government under another name, and the problem of personnel is not only left unsolved but to some extent accentuated.

From the debate that took place in the Assembly on February 3 it appears that the Government do not accept at present a policy of rigid nationalism, and it seems even less likely that they will accept the proposals of Professor Shah. It is improbable that any decision on the Report will be taken before present political difficulties are resolved. Meantime, the Government might with advantage re-establish adequate co-ordinating machinery on the official level so as to carry forward as far as possible the Five-Year Plans already in existence, and such plans for industrial development as can be based on the reports of the industrial panels.

CEYLON—ITS TRADE PROSPECTS

By G. C. S. COREA

(Ceylon Government Representative in London)

SITUATED in the Indian Ocean, south-east of and in close proximity to India, the island of Ceylon has an area of 25,000 square miles and a population of just over 6,000,000 people. It occupies an important position in the trade route from the West to the East, so much so that Colombo, its chief port, has been called the "Clapham Junction of the East." The port of Colombo provides all the amenities for large ocean-going ships, for bunkering, oil, water and repairs. A scheme is in preparation for bringing ships alongside.

Ceylon is a land of perpetual sunshine with a good rainfall provided by two monsoons. It is noted for its scenic grandeur, and has on the whole a delightful climate. From the warm plains of the lowlands it is only a few hours by motor-car to the delightful coolness and the healthy climate of the highlands. It has an excellent transport system. There is a railway from Colombo in the west to the extreme south, north, east and to the centre of the island. Motor-cars, lorries and buses ply to all parts of the island along very good roads. The smallest village is linked up in this road system. There are several good airports, the one at Negombo being able to accommodate the largest air liners. There is a daily service to and from India.

Ceylon's economy rests mainly on the export of her plantation crops. The value of pre-war exports amounted to Rs. 263,534,522 in 1938 and Rs. 304,161,745 in 1939. The chief agricultural product is tea, of which there are over 560,000 acres under cultivation, yielding an exportable surplus of 228,000,000 pounds of tea. Ceylon tea is well known for its exceptionally fine flavour. The Tea Research Institute and the Tea Propaganda Board look after the interests of this product.

There are over 600,000 acres of rubber, from which 99,000 tons of crude rubber are annually exported. An increasing quantity of sole crêpe is now being exported, and steps have been taken to provide for the export of latex. There is a Rubber Research Scheme, and the Department of Commerce and Industries has recently established a Rubber Technology section. A private firm has installed modern machinery for the manufacture of rubber-moulded goods, and the Government is considering a scheme for the establishment of a rubber goods factory.

Under coconut cultivation, which is the main economic product of the Ceylonese,

there are over 1,100,000 acres. The produce of the coconut palm is exported after local consumption is satisfied. The following are export figures for :

(a) Copra	...	...	...	53,069 tons
(b) Oil	...	...	...	62,886 tons
(c) Desiccated coconuts	...	...	...	33,686 tons
(d) Coconut fibre	...	...	...	35,449 tons
(e) Fresh coconuts	...	...	...	12,022,167
(f) Coconut fibre yarn	...	...	...	5,112 tons

In addition, the unfermented juice of the unopened flower of the palm is converted locally into a form of syrup or treacle; the fermented juice provides a pleasant and mild alcoholic beverage called toddy, and a more potent distilled spirit called arrack, both of which are consumed locally. In the past arrack was exported, and there is now a proposal to re-enter the export market. It makes an excellent base for cocktails or liqueurs, and is, on the whole, a satisfactory alcoholic drink. It may be of interest to record that the late Mr. H. G. Wells, who tasted this liqueur during a brief visit to this island, referred to it in the course of a published press interview in very appreciative terms. In regard to copra and coconut oil, the Government of Ceylon is under contract with the United Kingdom to supply the whole exportable surplus to the United Kingdom at an agreed price for a period of five years from 1946. The Coconut Research Scheme and the Coconut Board look after the plantation and commercial aspects of the coconut industry. Of essential oils, Ceylon exports two kinds. Firstly, cinnamon oil and cinnamon quills and chips, of which the normal export amounts to Rs. 2,561,300 annually, and, secondly, citronella oil, of which the export figure is Rs. 1,230,800 annually.

Cocoa is another plantation industry, and the normal export amounts to 3,800 tons annually. Areca-nuts, cardamoms and other spices are also exported in smaller quantities. These are all well-established agricultural products, which will be available for export for many years to come. Although at present fruit is not exported, there is a great variety of fruits of delicious flavour available in abundance. With the provision of refrigerated shipping space, an export trade can easily be developed. A small fruit-canning industry in the island absorbs a very small part of the available fruit.

In the realm of mineral products, exports are confined to plumbago, gems and precious stones. About 30,000 tons of plumbago of different grades and quality can be exported, including some very fine high carbon content crystalline lumps. A recent geological survey has disclosed the existence of a large deposit of high-grade iron-ore, the development of which is now under consideration by the Government. There is an abundance of good glass sands, from which blown glassware is now being manufactured. There is also a large quantity of good clay and limestone, and for the conversion of them to cement, a factory is now in the course of construction. Several million tons of Ilmanite sands are available. Although the utilization of this sand is under consideration, no definite steps have yet been taken.

The above is a brief summary of the export position, and we will now take a brief look into the import position. As a country of a predominantly agricultural economy, all the wants of the inhabitants, especially with regard to manufactured goods, have to be imported. It is still, in the main, in the same position today, in spite of recent efforts to industrialize by the use of existing raw materials for the supply of the local demand. Imports may be generally classified under five main heads :

(a) *Food*.—Ceylon produces only a part of her essential food supply, and depends largely on imports for her necessary supplies of rice, flour and milk foods.

(b) *Clothing*.—Almost the entire requirements of about 70,000,000 yards a year, mostly of cotton textiles, is imported.

(c) *Machinery*.—Entire requirements of machinery and all steel requirements for various industrial, agricultural and consumer needs are imported.

(d) *Miscellaneous*.—Manufactured goods over a wide range are imported. The total imports of manufactured goods other than food amounted to Rs. 94,170,000 in 1938, and the food imports amounted to Rs. 107,297,000 in the same year.

Government control over the import and distribution of essential foods, clothing, petrol and a few other items is still maintained. Control over other imports have been either totally removed or relaxed. It will be seen from this that Ceylon provides an excellent import market, provided that the standard of living of the people is improved.

This standard is improving, and there is great need today for consumer goods of all descriptions. In addition to this there is a growing demand for cotton for the handloom textile industry, which produces a special type of cotton material, which is not manufactured in the United States of America or Europe. Much machinery for agricultural and industrial development is urgently required, especially for the big development schemes sponsored by the Government. The tariff duties, which are mainly revenue duties, are on the whole not too high.

From the above statement of facts it is clear that there are good prospects for trade with Ceylon in the coming year. The Government Department of Commerce and Industries is devoting its attention to this end, and is publishing a Ceylon trade journal to assist the trade. The Government has, in addition, appointed a representative in London with a trade commissioner; and also a representative and trade commissioner in India, the former at New Delhi and the latter at Bombay. The Government has also under contemplation the appointment of trade representatives in New York, Australia and the Middle East. All these schemes for commercial development will gain fresh impetus when the Ceylonese people have full control over their own affairs and are governed by a Cabinet in a parliamentary system of government.

THE SAMARITANS

By E. M. E. BLYTH

In the small town of Nablus in Palestine, the ancient Shechem, there lingers still the remnant of a once proud and strong people—the Samaritans. The population of Nablus is mostly Muslims, who share with the Hebronites the reputation of being highly inflammable in character; and when Palestine was a province of the Ottoman Empire the Turkish authorities always took special precautions with the contingents which these towns sent to the great annual Muslim pilgrimage to the tomb of Moses beyond Jordan. It is therefore worth noting that the Samaritans in Nablus and the Jews in Hebron always lived safely and upon good terms with their Muslim neighbours until the riots of August, 1929. The attacks upon Jewish residents in Nablus and Hebron which took place then were aimed at the Zionist newcomers, whom the Arabs considered, and still consider, foreigners and intruders, though unfortunately old Jewish residents suffered, as well as Muslims, in the indiscriminate tumult of the riots.

The enmity between the Jews and the Samaritans is rooted in their past, and beats in the blood of both; pride, tradition, and the inability to forgive and forget, are forces that have raised an impassable barrier between the Jews and that sad, dying remnant of a people who are also of the seed of Abraham. "There be two manner of nations which my heart abhorreth," said the son of Sirach, who out of his heart poured forth wisdom, "and the third is no nation: they that sit upon the mountains of Samaria, and they that dwell among the Philistines, and that foolish people that dwell in Sichem." No words could express more forcibly the bitter enmity of the Jews against the Samaritans, a hatred so intense that they could even bracket the Samaritans with the accursed Philistines.

With the possible exception of the Druzes there are no people in the world so passionately and blindly conservative in character, custom and opinion as the Samaritans. The Jews have intermarried with Gentiles so freely throughout the

centuries of their dispersion that it is doubtful whether there is such a being today as a pure-blooded Jew. Russian and Polish (Slav) Jews are quite distinct from Spanish and Portuguese (Sephardi) Jews, and German (Ashkenazi) Jews from Yemenite, or Arab, Jews; and it is easy to tell them apart at a glance. The Samaritans forbid intermarriage with either Jew or Gentile; they remain a purely Semitic people, and, as a result of their enclosed nationality, they are dying out. In 1901 there were 152 Samaritans, of whom 97 were men and 55 were women; in 1914 there were 150; and the number now (1947) is said to have fallen well below 100.

The Samaritans claim direct descent from Joseph, through Ephraim and Manasseh; but owing to the falling away of other tribes, who at one time were joined to them, the present Samaritans represent only the House of Joseph, though the High Priest's family are Levites. When the Israelites entered Canaan, Eleazer, Aaron's son and successor in the High Priest's office, chose Mount Gerizim as the place on which to erect the Tabernacle, and established himself close by for its ministry. He was buried in Jacob's Field, which was part of the inheritance of the Tribe of Joseph. The Samaritans maintain that the priesthood was limited and secured to the descendants of Eleazer, because of the righteous zeal of Phinehas in slaying the Midianitish woman and her Israelite lover before the Lord. Moses commanded the people to set up the stone of the Law "in Mount Ebal . . . and there shalt thou build an altar to the Lord thy God"; but the blessings were to be given from Mount Gerizim and the curses from Ebal. The two mounts are sufficiently near to one another on either side of the deep but narrow dividing valley for voices to be clearly audible by the people gathered below. The Samaritans say that "Ebal" here is a misprint for "Gerizim," and that it was intended to erect the Sanctuary upon Gerizim, and never upon Zion, which hill the Jews chose as the site of their rival holy place after the severance. The Tabernacle remained in Mount Gerizim for six generations of the priesthood, and from here we follow the account of the Samaritans themselves of their severance from the other tribes.

In the sixth generation after Eleazer, Baasha, being then the High Priest, set Eli over the sacrifices and tithes. Eli was of the family of Ithamar, Eleazer's brother, but was not in the direct line of the priesthood. Aza succeeded his father, Baasha, in office, but he was younger than Eli, whose pride was thus offended. It now happened that the Gentiles (meaning the outer peoples, who knew not the Lord) sought to overthrow Israel by subtily. They fraternized with the Israelites, with whom they probably already had trade relations; they intermarried with them, and turned their hearts away after heathen gods, sending amongst them sorcerers and cunning wizards, whose black arts corrupted many, even among the priests. Forsaking the true worship on Mount Gerizim, the people crowded to the high places and altars of the Gentiles; "and the Lord delivered them into the hands of the Philistines forty years." The priesthood also was divided by a terrible feud. Eli refused to serve Aza any longer; he gathered around him a small company of friends and kinsfolk and malcontents, who, when the inevitable split came (after Aza had rebuked him for carelessness over the meal offering), clave to Eli, and followed him to Shiloh. The Tribe of Joseph remained faithful to Aza and the lawful priesthood, but many out of Judah and Benjamin followed Eli. At Shiloh, Eli made an ark and overlaid it with gold, and therein he placed copies of the Law, which had been written out by Ithamar, the younger son of Aaron; and he declared that he acted under the direct guidance of God.

Not long after the severance Aza went into the temple on Mount Gerizim and found it filled with a terrible darkness. Each day he entered in, only to find the utter blackness increased, until by the fifth day even the walls of the temple were invisible. He left the temple, knowing that it was a sign of the divine wrath; and as he emerged into the sunlight he saw a great cave before him, which had not been there before. God told him that He had created the cave as a hiding-place for the High Priest's vestments, the holy vessels, and the Ark of the Covenant, to preserve them from the ungodly; and as soon as Aza had placed everything in the cave it closed, and the next day all trace of it had disappeared. The Samaritans place the severance in the Year of Creation 3055. From this point they trace the history of the other tribes fairly accurately, though their bias appears in such statements as that

Eli instructed Samuel in sorcery, to which they ascribe the misery of Saul, who was completely dominated by Samuel; while Samuel himself was subject to the dark power of the Witch of Endor, who called him up from the dead. They declare that David was withheld from building the temple at Jerusalem because Yare, the High Priest, forbade him to build a house for the Lord anywhere but on Gerizim. David was afraid either to disobey the High Priest or to disappoint his people; so he left the building of the temple to Solomon. Solomon's heart was turned aside after many "strange" women (of Gentile races), and he built the temple at Jerusalem without fear, not scorning the aid of those dark spirits whom he could summon through the secrets of wizardry which Eli had taught Samuel and Samuel had passed on to David. In their mountain fastness the Tribe of Joseph still followed faithfully the Law as Moses had delivered it, in all its purity; and the glories of Solomon's temple were ignored by them.

The Samaritan account now becomes somewhat confused and uncertain, while the Old Testament narrative follows the story of Eli and the priesthood that derived from him, though it tells us nothing of Eli's descent and early years, as it does in the case of Samuel.

Jewish history has many points of contact with the Samaritans in Shechem. Here Joshua held a final assembly of the people before his death, and wrote the Law, and "took a great stone and set it there under an oak that was by the Sanctuary of the Lord," as "a witness to them" and their descendants, "lest ye deny your God." Joseph's bones were buried here, in the portion known as Jacob's Field. Shechem, or Sichem, is, in fact, one of the oldest cities known to history. The name means "the ridge," or "neck" (of a pass), and it lies in the fair and fertile valley between Ebal and Gerizim. Abraham built an altar here; and so did Jacob in a later day, calling it "El-elohe-Israel." Shechem was the scene of the tribes' revolt from the House of David, under Rehoboam. Jeroboam "built" (or fortified) it. Omri purchased the hill from Shemer for two talents of silver, and thereon built the city which remained the capital of the Northern Kingdom until its capture by Sargon, King of Assyria (B.C. 722). Omri called it Shomron ("Hill of the Outlook or Watch"); the Aramaic form of the name Shamrayin was eventually merged in the Greek "Samaria," and covered the whole province. The Samaritans call themselves either Israel or "Shomerem," the keepers (*i.e.*, of the Law); but the Jews call them simply "Shomronem," the people of Shomron, or Samaria. Sargon, having defeated the Samaritans after three years' stern warfare, carried into captivity some 27,000 persons. In their place he set "men from Babylon and from Cuthah, and from Ava, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim" to occupy the cities so tragically emptied. A visitation of "lions among them, which slew some of them," caused severe searching of heart amongst the settlers, who regarded it as a punishment from "the God of the land" upon strangers who did not worship Him, and Sargon sent them from the captivity a priest of Israel, whom he charged to teach them the true religion.

The Jews maintain that from this alien settlement arose a mixed population of partly pagan blood, whose descendants are the modern Samaritans. The Samaritans declare that they returned to Samaria after an exile of seventy years, and only one year later were exiled again, after the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, this time for 131 years. They claim that it was the representations of their High Priest and the princes of Joseph which persuaded Cyrus, King of Persia, to permit their return to Palestine. Cyrus gave orders for the rebuilding of the temple—the Bible says, at Jerusalem; the Samaritans, on Mount Gerizim. The Jews wished to return to Jerusalem and rebuild the temple on Mount Zion; the Samaritans opposed them, and the strife was sharp between them. According to the Samaritan story, Cyrus upheld the Tribe of Joseph, and sent them back to Samaria under the leadership of Sanballat the Horonite (*i.e.*, of Beth-Horon), and the temple was rebuilt on Mount Gerizim, all its fittings and appointments being made in complete obedience to the directions laid down by Moses.

We return to the Bible narrative. The Samaritans (Ezra calls them bluntly "the adversaries of Judah") offered their help to the Jews in rebuilding the temple at Jerusalem; but the Jews' bitter refusal, "Ye have nothing to do with us, to build an

house unto the Lord our God!" angered them, and widened the breach. The Samaritans retaliated by "troubling them in building," and by persuading Artaxerxes to stop the work. When Nehemiah "chased" from his presence the grandson of Eliashib the High Priest, who was also the son-in-law of Sanballat the Horonite, because he had married a "strange wife," there was no longer any hope of healing the breach. Great bitterness vexes the Samaritans hereafter, and they do not hesitate to accuse Esther of practising sorceries upon Artaxerxes to permit the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem. The Samaritans say that as they had the five Books of the Law, and the Jews knew this, and that as the feud barred them for ever from the only source of their joint faith, Ezra reconstructed the Law from chronicles and legends and wrote it in a book in the Assyrian language, with which the Jews of the exile were more familiar than with their own. They declare that Ezra's copy of the Law was necessarily very imperfect, and that in his anger against the Samaritans he inserted deliberate lies against them. He called them "Gentiles," and accused them of worshipping a dove ("Ashimé"), and of meaning *that* when, in their prayers, they uttered the word "Shimeh," by which the Samaritans indicate the unutterable Name of God. The charge is a tremendous one, for it strikes at the very root of the Jewish religion, and actually denies its veracity.

Once only did the Samaritans and the Jews fraternize again, when the common peril of the Roman conquest allied them in a brief and futile resistance. Cæsar Augustus bestowed the ruins of Samaria upon Herod, who rebuilt the city and called it Sebaste, the Greek form of Cæsar's name. It is possible that St. John the Baptist suffered martyrdom here, where Herod often held high festival with his "lords and chief estates of Galilee," whereas to Machærus (generally named as the scene, east of the Dead Sea) he went only in sickness for the baths.

There are not many references to the Samaritans in the Gospels, but our Lord chose a Samaritan as His example of generous charity in contrast to the meanness of Priest and Levite, who professed so much and cared so little. The Samaritans could have had no share in the Crucifixion, for the rigid observance of their Passover rites kept them away from Jerusalem and what they considered the heretical practices of the Jews.

After their return from exile the Samaritans rebuilt their temple on Mount Gerizim; but John Hyrcanus destroyed it (129 B.C.), and it was never restored, though the site has been jealously preserved by tradition. In A.D. 67 Vespasian conquered the Province and rebuilt Shechem, calling it Flavia Neapolis, whence came the present name of Nablus, there being no *p* in Arabic. Early in the Christian era it became an important bishopric, but the Samaritans apparently disliked the Christians as much as they did the Jews; and in the year 529 they attacked the Christian quarter and killed a number of the inhabitants. Justinian punished them severely and closed many of their synagogues; numbers of them fled to Persia; a few of those who remained at home became Christians, but the majority clung to the faith for which they had already suffered so often and so greatly. Nablus became a place of importance under the Christian kings; the hospice founded by the Knights Hospitallers was inhabited by lepers as late as 1890. On the whole, the Samaritans enjoyed greater liberty under the Christian kings than under any other rule.

The Samaritan language is a dialect of Hebrew-Aramaic, and the written alphabet is in very ancient Semitic characters; though the people all speak Arabic their services are held in their own speech. The High Priest's office is hereditary in the House of Levi, and the High Priest is the temporal as well as the spiritual head of the community. They are extremely poor, and the High Priest's income, which is derived from the tithes of his flock, is negligible. The Samaritans hold entirely to their own version of the Pentateuch, believing it to be the only accurate one in the world. This passionate and unshakable belief forms the basis of their religious and communal life; it sets them above and beyond all authority, save that of God only, who gave the Law to Moses; it has separated them from all other peoples, even from those who are their brethren by descent.

The Samaritans accept only the five Books of the Law; the Prophets and the historical books have no place in their canon, and they have their own chronicles. The Samaritan Codex is, of course, their greatest treasure. It is written on skins of lambs

once offered in sacrifice, now very old and yellow, and patched in places, and is kept in a solid silver case about 18 inches high. Not many people have seen this holy treasure; the manuscript shown to visitors on payment of a fee, though interesting, is far less ancient. The historical value of the ancient manuscript is great, and if it should pass into the keeping of scholars in years to come Biblical criticism may be the richer. St. Jerome, in one place at least, considered the Samaritan text as more accurate than the generally accepted Hebrew; Origen and Eusebius regarded it with reverence. Joseph Scaliger (son of Julius Caesar Scaliger, to whom belongs the credit of suggesting the importance of a Samaritan Bible, if such existed) was in communication with the Samaritans; but he died (1609) before the manuscript arrived. The channel was kept open by other biblical scholars, and a Roman nobleman, Pietro della Valle, purchased two copies from the Samaritan colony in Damascus, which were used in the editions known as the Paris Polyglot and the London Polyglot. In 1671 the Rev. Robert Huntington (afterwards Bishop of Raphoe), being then Chaplain to the Turkey Merchants Company at Aleppo, acquired some interesting MSS. from the Samaritans at Nablus, which are now, I believe, in the Bodleian. In the same year the Samaritans of Shechem wrote to their brethren in England (*Descriptive List of the Hebrew and Samaritan Texts in the British Museum*, G. Margoliouth, 1893). This is the only record of a settlement here that I know of, but 200 years ago Samaritan colonies flourished in Gaza, Cairo and Damascus. In 1733 the Rev. Benjamin Kennicott published his pamphlet, *The State of the Printed Hebrew Text of the Old Testament*, contesting the authority of the Hebrew text, following it up (1759) with one upholding the genuineness of the Samaritan. As a result of his efforts, £10,000 were raised, and in a *magnum opus* of some thirty volumes the Hebrew and Samaritan texts of 615 Hebrew and 16 Samaritan MSS. were printed side by side for comparison and criticism. The work aroused both interest and controversy; but presently it degenerated into a party question, Roman Catholic scholars favouring the Samaritan text in opposition to Anglicans, who held by the Hebrew.

The dissimilarities between the two texts seem often trivial, except to the scholar who is able to appreciate those subtle differences of a word, often of a letter or accent, which involve so much. An interesting illustration of such a difference is found in Gen. xxii. 2, which in the Bible (following the Hebrew text) reads: "Get thee into the land of Moriah and offer Isaac there for a burnt offering." The Samaritan text gives this as "the land of Moreh," which is the region round Shechem. Dean Stanley (*Sinai and Palestine*, chap. vi, note) says: "In Gen. xxii the Samaritans actually read Moreh for Moriah, and the LXX, Aquila, Symmachus, and Jerome, all translate the word by 'lofty' or 'conspicuous,' which would be a just translation of 'Moreh,' not of 'Moriah.'" And, "Abraham was 'in the land of the Philistines.' From the south of the plains he would advance till on the morning of 'the third day,' in the Plain of Sharon, the massive height of Gerizim is visible 'afar off,' and from thence half a day would bring him to its summit. Exactly such a view is to be had in the plain; on the other hand, no such view or impression can fairly be said to exist on the road from the south to Jerusalem, even if what is at most a journey of two days could be extended to three. . . . There is no elevation, nothing corresponding to the 'place afar off' to which Abraham *lifted* up his eyes." Professor George Adam Smith comments as follows: "The vagueness of the phrase *the land of Moriah* and *one of the mountains* (ver. 2) prevents us from fixing on any definite hill, while there is every reason to believe that *Moriah* is not the original reading, but is a gloss of late origin, and inserted in order to give the Temple at Jerusalem the credit of the patriarchal narrative" (*Hist. Geog.*, chap. xvi).

"It is one of the cardinal beliefs of the Samaritans that the Pentateuch, as it stands now, was actually written by the Hand of God . . . the only thing that Moses did was to transcribe it, and hand it on to the priests and elders" (*The Samaritans*, Gaster). The Ten Words which created the world are in the Pentateuch, each Word having a secret and an open meaning; the Name of God was, of course, the mightiest Word of all. The Samaritans believe in angels and spirits, and base their theory of judgment and life after death upon Deut. xxxii. They believe that Messiah will come 6,000 years after the Creation, but He will not be "a greater than Moses," for Moses said He would be "a prophet like unto" himself; He will spring from Levi, and

after passing the tests of discovering the lost vessels of the Temple, and of finding and performing miracles with Moses' Rod, He will die and be buried at the foot of Mount Gerizim. The Samaritan conception of the office and mission of Messias differs from the Jewish, in that they look for no material advantage through His coming; His sole concern will be with matters pertaining to true worship and the spiritual life. The Jews look for a Messiah who shall "restore the Kingdom to Israel." The Samaritans accept our Lord ("the Son of Mary") as a great teacher, whom the Jews hated and slew because He exposed their sins; they say that before His death He delegated disciples to spread His teachings in distant lands; thus St. Peter was sent to Rome, St. Andrew and St. Matthew to the Sudan, St. Thomas to Babylon, St. Philip to Africa, St. Simon to Barbary, St. Paul to the Gentiles. In addition to the Pentateuch and their chronicle (this, I believe, is not older than the twelfth century), the Samaritans have a scanty literature, almost entirely religious in character and greatly narrowed in scope by their rigid isolation from the world. Three times in the year—for the Feast of Weeks, the Feast of Tabernacles, and the Passover—the small community make their way up Mount Gerizim to the plateau, where the tents are spread for the Passover; these rites are still celebrated in strict obedience to the Mosaic Law; the women take no part in the religious ceremony, but each family eats the passover in its own tent. Some fifteen minutes further and the summit is reached. This is another large plateau, still holding the ruins of the castle Justinian built, and of a church said to be even older; in the centre is a projecting rock, once the site of the Temple, and northwards, below the castle, are the twelve stones of Joshua's Altar. The place of Abraham's Sacrifice is on the south-east. The remains of paved terraces, broken cisterns and other ruins suggest that the plateau once supported a considerable population. Mount Ebal, though curiously barren by contrast with the fertility of Gerizim, has the wider view, being 3,076 feet in height against Gerizim's 2,848.

Samaria has been identified as Sebaste, but the ancient city lies many feet below the present levels. It was a place of great natural and architectural beauty, and also of real strategic power, situated in the very centre of Palestine and commanding the great roads northward and southward through the land. Its ruins hold a deep, undying interest, a tragic grace. The different historical periods can still be traced here, as elsewhere in Palestine, recalling the days of Herod, the Romans, the Crusades, back to the glories of the ivory palace that Ahab built. Though now but a few columns remain, and those broken and mutilated, the famous Street of Columns once ran broad and fair between two thousand magnificent columns, with richly carved capitals. It is a place to dream and linger in.

For centuries the Samaritans have battled for the truth, as they knew it; they have followed and upheld unquestioningly the Law of Moses, claiming nothing outside it of either spiritual or material advantage, nor a foot more than the ancient inheritance of their Tribe. They have experienced the fury of Assyria and the iron hand of Rome, the mean tyranny of Herod and the burning zeal of the Crusaders; and they survive, while their oppressors are only names and shadows. They have never temporized or compromised in their rigid fidelity to their religious and national tradition, nor refused the burden of isolation they deemed befitting to the people of the Lord in a world that has forsaken Him. Bearing aloft the scarred and tattered banners of their unique and mighty past, they enter into the keeping of history.

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(The last three are pamphlets, all by Jacob, Son of Aaron, the High Priest, translated from the Arabic by Abdullah Ben Kori, Professor of Arabic at Pacific University, U.S.A., and edited by Professor Wm. E. Barton, D.D. These pamphlets were given by the High Priest to the late Bishop Blyth of Jerusalem, in Jerusalem, together with his signed photograph with the Pentateuch.)

A SPRING TOUR OF THE ÆGEAN VALLEYS

BY T. VERSCHOYLE

(From a Talk Given Over Radio Ankara)

THE chain of mountains which virtually girdles the whole of the Anatolian plateau is interrupted on the Ægean coast by a series of valleys which penetrate fairly far inland. Of these valleys the most important are those of the Gediz and the Büyük Menderes—the classical Hermus and Meander—which run nearly due east, each for a distance of some 120 miles from the coast, and the valley of the Küçük Menderes (the Caystrus), which lies between the others, and is much shorter. With a rich alluvial soil, an adequate rainfall, hot summers, and only light frosts in winter, these valleys form one of the most fertile parts of Turkey, and reveal a most diversified agriculture. Railways run down all of them, and, by suitably breaking one's journey, it is possible to traverse them all by day and get a good impression of the countryside in a comparatively short time.

Spring came early to Turkey this year, and when my wife and I left Ankara in the middle of March to tour these valleys it was already well advanced. We decided to go down by the southern route (along the Küçük Menderes), and to return by the northern line (up the Gediz), the railway crossing the mouth of the Küçük Menderes on the way. The first signs of the Ægean were apparent almost at the head of the 120-mile-long valley in the shape of carpets of scarlet anemones: these, although already past their best, were to accompany us for almost all the journey, mingled occasionally with the mauve and—more rarely—with the white variety. It was near the head of the valley that, at a wayside station, each of a row of fine plane trees lining the platform was adorned with a stork's nest. I think that storks must derive considerable benefit from railway installations. The best example I remember was a round-house at a station away in the south-east of Turkey, where on each of the ten or so smoke vents was perched a stork's nest.

At Denizli, not far below the valley head, the upper limit of cotton growing is reached. At Denizli, too, is the famous "cotton fortress," a magnificent platform of travertine formed from hot springs, and faced with dazzlingly white terraces. On top of this platform, which juts out from the hills on the northern side of the valley, are the remains of the old city of Hierapolis; whilst on the opposite side of the valley lies what is left of Laodicea. Cotton, by the way, is grown in all three valleys.

Below Denizli we meet the first of the fig orchards which, scattered at first, become almost continuous in the neighbourhood of Aydin, and are to be found nearly to the end of the valley. The Lop fig of Aydin is famous the world over; and it is, perhaps, of interest to note that its supremacy is due, not so much to any peculiarity

of the soil or to the climate in general, as to a providential succession of winds. During the summer first a warm moist wind from the west develops the fruit, and then a hot dry wind from the north ripens and dries them. This is a perfect arrangement by the clerk of the weather.

Whilst figs are confined to the valleys of the two Menderes rivers, olives, which commence about halfway down the Büyük Menderes, grow in all three valleys and, of course, along the coast and up the skirts of the hills as well. Throughout the olive area were patches of the tall asphodel, with its spires of pale pink, varied here and there by the yellow asphodeline. We had no time to explore any of the inviting-looking hills on either hand. These afford a wealth of flowers, such as cyclamen in the early spring, jonquils, tulips and, later on, lilies. But in half an hour's stroll from Aydin I found five species of orchids, including three splendid *ophrys*.

About thirty miles from the mouth of the Büyük Menderes the railway leaves its valley to cross over to that of the Küçük Menderes. The climb over the low pass is through mixed groves of olives and pines, scattered among which are Judas trees. These were at their best, with their branches wrapped in sprays of purple.

On the far side of the pass the line drops down to Selçuk, with its splendid ruined mosque and old castle, hard by the site of Ephesus. Earthquake and man have done their best to destroy Ephesus, but there is still much to see; and, when we were there, the yellow umbels of giant fennel 7 or 8 ft. high and the purple of the Judas trees provided effective set-offs. In a laudable attempt to prevent further damage, grazing has been prohibited for some years, with the natural result that the theatre is now so overgrown as to be almost invisible and—much worse—that tree and shrub roots are dislocating foundation and other stonework.

With the Küçük Menderes valley the Izmir tobacco-growing district proper is entered. All along the line fields were being prepared for planting, and outside the villages were nursery beds of seedlings protected by rush mats. Once across the valley and the vineyards commence; here the words "vine" and "sultana" are practically synonymous. These continue right up to Izmir, and again on the far side along all the valley of the Gediz, which is their main home. By the Gediz it is all vines and olives, interspersed with fields of tobacco and cotton, cereals taking a minor place. The olives, however, look rather sorry for themselves, for great damage was done, both to them and the figs, by the unusually severe winter of 1941-42, when twenty-five degrees or more of frost were recorded. And it is sad to learn that, just after our visit, the vines with their pale green foliage were badly damaged by an unseasonably late frost.

The Gediz line passes close to the sites of Sardis and Philadelphia, so that, of the seven churches of Asia, only two, Pergama and Thyatira, both of which lie off to the north, are not within actual sight of the railway. Not far east of Philadelphia (or Alaşehir) the line finally climbs back again to the central plateau, through woods of Valonia oak.

In this brief account of one of the most enchanting districts of this enchanting country there has not been time to do more than indicate the attractions of its rich plant or bird life—a richness matched by that of its archaeology. No one appreciates the beauty of flowers, wild or garden, more than the Turk himself; and it is a very pleasant if at times slightly embarrassing custom to shower the visitor's wife on every possible occasion with bouquets of the largest size. It is a common sight, too, to see soldiers, on a day off, walking about with large posies of wild flowers, and certainly Nature does her best to fill the need.

In March, of course, only the early migrants had appeared, headed, if not in time, certainly in importance, by the stork. The stork, however, is not peculiar to the Aegean, for he ranges over almost the whole country; but I shall always remember the masses of stock doves in every town and village. And a more unusual pleasure: when lunching in the theatre of Ephesus we were serenaded by a distant black-bird—an uncommon bird here.

I have referred to the diversified agriculture of this region, but have mentioned among field crops only cotton and tobacco. Cereals, which, as I said, are of less importance in these valleys, comprise wheat, barley, rye, maize, sorghum and oats.

Apart from beans of all kinds, sesame, hemp, aniseed and opium are also grown. Market gardening flourishes around Izmir, with artichokes and broad beans the principal produce at the time of our visit. It is not until one has eaten these two vegetables gathered very young and cooked in the Turkish fashion that one realizes how good they can be—especially broad beans, which, as served in England, are seldom fit for human consumption. But the fruit and vegetables of this country deserve a book to themselves, and, anyhow, it would be cruel to make your mouths water—if, indeed, they remember how to water.

IMPRESSIONS OF TURKISH CHILDREN

BY B. C. BUCKLER

(From a Talk Given Over Radio Ankara)

MANY broadcasts must have given regular listeners to this programme a fair idea of the country and of the people in these parts. This short talk tonight gives two impressions of Turkish children. If such a talk is intended to prove anything, it is that children are much the same the whole world over, but that it is the differences that make that sameness interesting.

Some weeks ago I was discussing these weekly broadcasts with the Director of the British Council in Istanbul, an old friend and colleague of mine, and I asked him whether he would let me have an occasional account of some of the visits he made to villages and towns in his area. A few days ago I heard from him, and tonight I propose to convey to you in his own words what he told me.

In connection with our work as officials of the British Council, the Assistant Director in Istanbul and I went to the village of Sariyer to be present at the opening ceremony of a small exhibition of British Children's Paintings, which had been sent there.

Sariyer is a delightful place, a village on the Bosphorus, far enough from Istanbul to be comparatively untouched by too many modern influences, and near enough not to be inaccessible. Its main street is wide and cobbled, and its houses a mixture of the new and the old. Ancient residences, with their wall-enclosed gardens, jostle with spick-and-span modern concrete structures. The exhibition was in the Halkevi there. Halkevis are rather like our English night-schools. One can learn most things in the evenings there, including English, and it is the natural home for all exhibitions that come from time to time.

The hour of the opening was set for 3.30. In the courtyard below some two hundred Turkish children of all ages, mostly clad in their black suits or black school dresses, were waiting to be let in. Upstairs we were ushered into the office of the head of the Halkevi. There he introduced us, in Turkish, to the chief of police, the local schoolmaster, one of the schoolmistresses, a retired Member of Parliament, a lawyer, a representative of the Istanbul Art School, and others who had come. We sat in a great circle, in a sort of subdued but not very vocal harmony. Sporadic bursts of conversation came from time to time. We were complimented on our Turkish (really a hollow compliment, because at such a gathering a struggling word or two is greeted with a great deal of compliment and quiet satisfaction—we ourselves were very conscious of its deficiencies). Conversation grew more general, then almost animated.

Meanwhile a subdued roar from the exhibition hall made it clear that the children were in, so we went in too. We took a covert glance at the pictures to see that they were all right, then listened to the speech by the head of the Halkevi, listened to in

silence. Then we led the children round, and talked with them. What were their names, where did they live, which pictures did they like best? As we talked we thought about, shall we say, David Sparks, of Highbury, and Dolly Walton, of Bethnal Green, who had painted these pictures, and were now, unknown to them perhaps, having them shown to Turkish children.

Some of the children liked a picture called "Our Teacher." To me it looked the frozen epitome of all that is cold, prim and terrible about elderly primary school-mistresses. But Aydin Tamko and, shall we say, Neczahat Ozsoy seemed to like it. Aydin suggested that he would like to have a go, if he could find a piece of paper big enough. One of the Turkish teachers came up and asked whether such children had special drawing teachers to look after this side of their studies, whilst the retired Member of Parliament talked about Englishmen he had met, and what we had done in the war, and the like.

Then we had tea, and, after a great deal of hand-shaking and promises to come again, went the way we had come. There was silence for a while in the car as we left, but then we quite suddenly agreed that we had enjoyed it, and began to talk of the good work that such an interchange of ideas must perform. For now there is talk of an exhibition of Turkish drawing and painting in London, and so the circle will be complete.

The second experience came yesterday, and is not quite so high-falutin. A Turkish friend and his son took me to see Laurel and Hardy in "The Big Noise," at one of the Istanbul cinemas. We arrived punctually at 4.30 to find a hall simply packed with adults and teeming with children. I thought Abdel Rahman was looking at me with amusement, and when the film began I realized why. For though these were the Laurel and Hardy I knew, their voices were not. The film was dubbed in Turkish, and very well dubbed too. Too well, because, with well-appreciated humour, the Turk who does the dubbing, Ferdi Tayfur, makes both Laurel and Hardy speak good Turkish, but with an accent only too readily recognizable, the accent of the Englishman. And did the audience love it? They laughed until they could laugh no more; whilst I realized what my Turkish must sound like. And when Laurel began to play his concertina the audience began to stamp, stamp upon the floor, as children's matinees still do in England, I suspect, and as I used to do thirty-odd years ago. And as I laughed with the rest I thought that here was another influence for good the whole world over. Laugh and grow fat, they say, but laugh and grow good is perhaps almost as true.

We all trooped out after a triumphant Laurel had blown up his Japanese submarine, and listened to the small son giving his impressions of it all. Out into Istanbul's busiest thoroughfare, the rue de Pera, with its incessant streams of hooting taxis, and its hordes of slowly walking people.

Perhaps this seems rather disjointed and unimportant. But these children are growing up in this country, as countless other children are growing up in others. And if they grow up with a firmly rooted conviction that somewhere outside Turkey there are hosts of strange, foreign children, with other languages, other thoughts, other ways, that conviction must harden, in later life, to a suspicion of those other nations, and more especially in these days when war and talk of war are the chief ingredients of conversation. But I don't think that, if they kept on seeing what David Sparks thought his teacher looked like, and heard a bit more about him, that they would really grow up like that. We are very like animals, intensely suspicious of the unknown, and friendly enough with those we know. And the hope of the world lies not, I think, in this generation, which, saturated in the disillusion and distress of two long wars, asks for nothing more than to be left to its own devices, but to the future, perhaps four generations later, when travel and interpenetration of ideas have restored to some degree a troubled world to peace and contentment.

REFLECTIONS ON COLONIZATION

BY GASTON JOSEPH

COLONIZATION by the West has many claims to the gratitude of the world, claims which even its detractors would not attempt to deny. It has made known the surface of the planet, inventoried its riches, assured their circulation, and through this brought a better standard of living to all men. Even from the intellectual point of view, it has allowed the diffusion of a body of ideas which we hold to be superior to that whose place it has taken. It has, then, definitely brought to the whole of mankind, including the colonized countries, what we must consider to be its good.

European colonization has been the most active agent of the expansion in the world of Western civilization. It follows that their futures are linked.

But today it is precisely our civilization that is menaced. "We other civilizations know that we are mortal." But how can our own die? The ancient civilizations—Nineveh or Rome, Byzantium or Alexandria—were confined to a relatively small part of the globe. Because of this there remained beyond their borders elements strange to them, such as the Greeks called "Barbarians," who, with fire and sword, destroyed, one after the other, the most brilliant centres of these civilizations.

At the present day Western civilization has overrun the entire world. It cannot then perish save of its own accord. Corruption has tainted it. On that fact we are all agreed. To what is this due? Not, at any rate, to science, to logic. Never has civilization been more learned, more skilful, or more powerful. The evil is in the weakening of ethics. Moral law has lost its authority. The power of the human individual is denied, not in words, no doubt, but in deeds, which is worse. More and more, in all that comes about, does man cease to be an end in himself and become debased into a mere instrument.

By a paradoxical turn of events the machine, created by the hands of man to obey him, is on the way, not only to enslave him, but to recreate him in its own image. Even the mind of man is becoming mechanized. The consequence, and at the same time the symptom, of this evil is the general "proletarianism" of humanity.

This fading of the spiritual into the material is a debasement, as the mechanization of man is a degradation of personality, for what constitutes the value of the human individual is his soul. And who is there who does not see that it is precisely the soul, in that sense, which is endangered by modern civilization? Not only in the means it uses, but in the end towards which it works. For its ideal, without a doubt, is collective happiness founded on standard comfort. This ultimate negation of the spirit is the gravest perversion in our ethic. It is this which has imperilled the Western world.

Through all time two tendencies have co-existed: the spiritual, which inclines to set a high value on man, and the other, which, in its highest forms, turns to the increase of material well-being for all men, and particularly for some.

The most obvious sign of the predominance of one or the other in the extension of Western civilization to other peoples—that is to say, in colonization—is the priority which is accorded either to the individual or to the collection of facts, which is grouped under economics.

To the slave has succeeded the wage-earner, and this is regarded as a very great social advance. After the age of "black ivory" (as the slaver called his merchandise) has come the age of the robot, black or yellow, and the age of the white robot is not far off. It is the triumph of "equality" brought about by reducing all men to uniformity.

The colonizations, which were in essence solely mercantile, could be at times advantageous to a nation, and even brilliant; they have broken up, leaving no trace; what remains of Carthage? On the other hand, those which brought with them an intellectual and moral motive less directly interested have left at least the mark of their influence, and they are perpetuated in the degree of that influence: look at ancient Greece. It is the imperishable nature of pure science and spiritual progress which

assures the immortality of civilizations. The only conquest which does not fall into decay is that of minds and hearts.

Certainly the giving of first place to economics and "proletarianism" does not exclusively result in a weakening of ethics. The nations have need to attend to immediate realities, and this priority has been imposed, to a certain degree, by the exigencies of the struggle. While antagonisms persist between peoples and remain a permanent obsession the care of culture and the other preoccupations of the spirit will tend to be effaced by more pressing necessities.

Is this to say that nothing can be done? No. The end of colonization is not to reduce all the inhabitants of the world to uniformity on the model of the white man. Further, it is not to produce a black pattern or a yellow standard. It is to lead each people in the direction of their own development and to give them the means of progressing along that path.

Such must be our aim, because such is the true direction of European civilization. Socrates, who was at its beginning, wished only to be an "accoucheur of souls." In the same way our part must be to awaken in others their human consciousness. From that, moreover, we ourselves shall gain. But at the same time, by a curious turn of fate, we shall gain by reaching the inmost depth where all human souls meet and become brothers. For groups, in fact, as for individuals, leaving aside personal differences, there exists a common essence, the same permanent substratum of tendencies and ideals. But it cannot be reached by force. To arrive at it one must proceed with others as with oneself, subject oneself to the peculiarities of another, follow the twists of his particular path, learn to speak to his soul in the secret language which he uses within himself.

It is a difficult task, but it is the only fruitful one.

THE CHINA CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITIES' ASSOCIATION

THIRD ANNUAL REPORT, JUNE, 1947

THE year 1946-47 has been our busiest year to date, and, thanks to the generosity of an increasingly large number of friends, we have had another record income. But that income has, of course, not been raised for the benefit of the Association, but for the Christian Universities of China, and especially as a token of practical goodwill towards those Presidents and members of staff who, by their scholarship and Christian outlook, are today making such an important and distinctive contribution to the long-term welfare of the Chinese people.

First, then, I want to report very briefly on the scene in China. All the Universities that were evacuated to the West during the war are now back in their own centres, with the single exception of Cheeloo. In the case of this University some of the students are reading in Tsinan, the home of the University in Shantung, whilst some are still reading in the West China University in Chengtu. All of the fourteen Universities and Colleges are full to overflowing; there are more than 13,000 this year as against 7,000 last year—nearly double the number—and all the reports coming in reveal great activity, a really gallant effort to recover pre-war standards, in spite of insufficient staffs, and, above all, a magnificently courageous tackling of a situation fraught with difficulties almost unparalleled during the eight years of war. One can only imagine how we should have felt in this country if our own Universities had had to start in on the post-war programmes with literally empty laboratories and empty libraries! The British Universities have had, and are having, their own problems, but those Universities in China about which we are thinking now, for whom well-equipped laboratories and well-stocked libraries are as essential as in the case of any university in the world, have had to restart almost from scratch. In most cases they have had to repair and entirely refurnish buildings for which almost every-

thing has gone, and re-equip empty laboratories, and restock their empty libraries; it will be years before this task is complete. Added to this, all through the war years they were largely cut off from contact with much that was going on in the world of scholarship outside China, and it was wellnigh impossible to keep up to date.

But this matter of re-equipment, etc., has only been *one* of their major problems; the other has been the carrying on of those Universities (expensive institutions at any time!) during a period of civil war, when the cost of food and every needed commodity is utterly fantastic. As a consequence, most members of staff and most students are suffering from malnutrition and many of the resultant ills. The load which is being carried by the President and Bursar of each of these Universities is a heavy one, and the Association is determined to do everything possible to lighten that load if only to a small extent. The Universities must be maintained for the sake of China and the whole Christian movement.

All of these Universities and Colleges have strong Arts and Science faculties, and train personnel as government officials, educationists, scientists, industrialists, social workers, etc.; five of them run medical schools, which have made, and are making, a great contribution to the nation; in one is the leading dental school in China; five of them specialize in agriculture, two in engineering, one in law, one in commerce, one in Modern Greats, journalism, political science and social science, and one in rural reconstruction.

Further, all of them through the men and women trained in their affiliated Theological Colleges, and those University graduates who become influential laymen in the Chinese Church, as well as through many others who, though not professing Christians, reflect in their lives much of the Christian attitude towards personal, social, national, and international affairs, are today making a great contribution to the strengthening of the whole Christian movement.

It is impossible to estimate the contribution of men and women who have been given the very best academic training, and have themselves caught something of the true Christian attitude to life, and who later occupy positions of leadership amongst all sections of the community.

Only two other facts of importance need to be reported: three of the Universities in East China—St. John's, Soochow and Hangchow—have already agreed to join together to make one strong East China University. Also the Fukien Christian University and the Hwanan Women's College and the North Fukien Theological Christian College have started to co-operate; they will carry on on adjacent sites and so help each other. Their developments are in line with the much-advocated policy of closer co-operation, and in line with the recommendation of the planning committees of America, China and Great Britain.

Now let me turn to the Work of this Association here at home. It has been a most encouraging year, and as Secretary I should like to express my sincere gratitude for generous co-operation on the part of our President, His Grace the Archbishop of York, our Treasurer, Lord Luke, our Chairman, Dr. Williamson, our Vice-Chairman, Mr. Paul Sturge, all members of the Council and Executive, Messrs. Balchin, Tully, Gaussen, Phillips, as well as Miss Hussey (who have given invaluable help in the matter of the purchasing of equipment and general office administration) and, last but not least, my colleague, Mrs. Gilman. All have responded to repeated appeals for help, and their help has brought about the desired result. I only deeply regret that Mrs. Gilman will be shortly leaving us, but we thank her most warmly for outstanding service during the past three years, and wish her God-speed.

The outstanding facts during the year are these:

1. FINANCE.

Full details will be given in the Treasurer's Report; but, as a summary, the total income of £17,838 9s. 3d. is made up of:

For the Rehabilitation Fund :

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Individual subscribers	363	0	6			
Industrial firms	5,244	5	9			
	<hr/>			5,607	6	3
By donations earmarked for Universities :						
<i>Moukden Medical College</i>	1	0	0			
<i>West China Union University</i> (including £500 from Friends' Service Council)	1,093	0	6			
<i>Hua Chung University</i>	166	0	0			
<i>Shantung (Cheeloo) Christian University</i> (including anonymous donation for spectrographic laboratory, £3,000; covenanted subscription bringing in £1,000; donation for Medical School, £340 2s., from Eltham High School [Girls])	4,372	5	6			
<i>Ginling Women's College</i>	3	3	0			
	<hr/>			5,635	9	0
Subscriptions and donations for general maintenance, including miscellaneous income				3,241	11	10
Donated goods to the value of				3,354	2	2
	<hr/>			£17,838	9	3

To all those who have made this income possible we, as an Association, offer our heartfelt thanks.

ADDITIONAL SUMS SENT DIRECT FROM GREAT BRITAIN TO THESE
CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITIES OF CHINA

British United Aid to China, 1946-47	7,377	0	0
(making the magnificent total to date of £206,000)			
"Wellcome Trustees"—special grant to West China Union University, Pharmacy Dept.	1,000	0	0
British Missionary Societies, 1946-47 :			
Grants (approximate)	2,392	0	0
Salaries and allowances (approximate)	17,058	0	0
Rehabilitation Fund	2,125	0	0
	<hr/>		
	21,575	0	0
	<hr/>		
	29,952	0	0
Making an approximate total for Great Britain of	47,790	9	3

2. ORGANIZATION.

(i) *In Scotland* the Committees of the C.C.U.A. and the Moukden Medical College have been combined, and will from now on make one appeal.

(ii) *In Northern Ireland* a new and strong Committee is in process of being formed under the Chairmanship of Bishop John Hind, formerly Bishop in Fukien, and the Secretaryship of the Rev. A. Fulton, who was a missionary of the Church of Scotland in Manchuria.

(iii) *At Headquarters* it has been agreed to co-operate still further with British United Aid to China. We owe to that organization a great debt of gratitude, and have gladly responded to their request for a further strengthening of the links between C.C.U.A. and B.U.A.C. The presence of Lady Cripps at our annual meeting is a further token of the friendship which she and the General Secretary, Mrs. Miller, have shown the Association ever since the inception of B.U.A.C.

3. A NEW CO-OPERATING MISSION.

In some ways the most outstanding event of the year has been that the Foreign Missions Committee of the Presbyterian Church of England has agreed to send out a member of that Church to work on the staff of the Cheeloo University. This means

that a new British Missionary Society has agreed to co-operate in the work of the higher education in China. The Association welcomes this development most heartily.

4. PUBLICATIONS.

In addition to two issues of the *Bulletin*, a new brochure entitled *An Investment in Goodwill* has been prepared, and we want it widely distributed.

5. VISITS.

We have received visits from Dr. C. W. Chang (Nanking), Dr. Y. C. Yang (Soochow), Dr. Francis Wei (Hua Chung), Bishop T. K. Shen (St. John's), Professor C. H. Lo (West China), Bishop R. O. Hall (Hong Kong), and Professors F. S. Drake (Cheeloo), David Anderson (Hua, Chung), Ralph Lapwood (Yenching), and F. L. Phillips (Cheeloo). All have helped us in speaking and other ways, and we are most grateful.

6. A FELLOWSHIP.

The trustees of the late Sir Henry S. Wellcome have generously agreed to finance a visit from Mr. Lo Hsin-lung, of the West China Union University Pharmacy Department, to do special research work in Great Britain.

7. PROFESSOR PERCY ROXBY.

We deeply regret to record the loss of Professor Percy Roxby, one of our Vice-Presidents. Professor Roxby at the time of his death in Nanking was chief representative of the British Council. Over a long number of years he rendered great service to China and to the Christian Universities both from this country and in China itself.

Here let me add a word about our opposite number in North America. It was with regret that I was unable to leave to attend the annual meetings of the Associated Boards in New York in May. But the C.C.U.A. was most ably represented by the Rev. Ronald Rees, who was on his way back from China to this country. "The Associated Boards" have now become "The United Board," and will in future be so known.

Once again we record the magnificent contribution made by our American colleagues towards the maintenance of the Christian Universities and Colleges. Without the help of our American friends these Universities could not carry on. The task in America this year has been very difficult, but their new Executive Secretary, Dr. Robert McMullen, has given a fine lead, and I should like to record my own gratitude to him and all his colleagues for their co-operation throughout the year.

Finally About New Plans.

As we start off another year we do so with definite encouragement.

Firstly, a new and most significant step has been taken in Birmingham. The Joint Committees of B.U.A.C. and C.C.U.A. have agreed, in response to a special appeal by Bishop R. O. Hall, to maintain a Chair in the Medical School of West China Union University at £600 per annum. We sincerely welcome this move.

Secondly, a further proposal has been made by Bishop Hall along somewhat similar lines to a group of prominent industrialists, at a special C.C.U.A. function, that a fund should be started for the maintenance of Chairs in the eight British United Christian Universities of China. Already there are indications that such a proposal is likely to receive support. At the moment we are only in the initial stages of the scheme.

Thirdly, we are able to start another year with the full assurance that we shall receive the continued backing of all our branch associations, individual subscribers, industrial firms, co-operating missionary societies and British United Aid to China. To all we say "Thank you" for all they have done, and as the needs and opportunities in China increase we confidently hope for still greater help in the days that lie ahead.

As we look back we sincerely thank God for all His guidance and help, and as we look forward to the greater tasks ahead we know that we need have no fears, but rather that we may face whatever comes with courage and with the full confidence that the task is first and foremost His.

NOEL B. SLATER, *Secretary*.

25, Charles Street, W. I.

PROGRESS IN CHINA*

IN spite of all the unrest in China, which has gone on since 1922, which continues today, and which is likely to go on for a considerable period :

1. Real progress in the building of roads, railways and the setting-up of factories, has been made and continues to be made.
2. It must be remembered that the Chinese people (away from the actual fighting) are not affected by this unrest in the way we should be—they carry on.

From a rather wide experience of various types of relief and reconstruction in China, I am convinced that there are two constructive pieces of work which have real hope for the future, and which are worth maintaining now, in spite of the cruel difficulties and discouragement which faces British Industry in China :

1. That carried on by the Chinese Industrial Co-operatives. (I came to England largely to secure some help from the Co-operative Union of Britain for the Chinese Industrial Co-operatives, and that is now going ahead.)
2. That carried on by the Christian Universities of China. (It is of these Universities that I want to speak today.)

As I see it, the reason why the Christian Universities are so important and the reasons why we in this country should give them adequate support, are :

1. In the Christian Universities you have liberal minds especially attracted by the democratic practices and way of living on the part of the British members of staff. (Government Universities, which *per se* cannot be expected to have the same measure of freedom as private institutions, are receiving considerable service in various ways from the British Council.)
2. The Christian Universities have an exceptionally high standard of care for their students and a high standard of devotion to the actual task of teaching on the part of professors and lecturers, and, as a result of this, more and more of the leaders of the provincial life of China—provincial governors, military leaders, big bankers, etc., are sending their children to these Universities.
3. The Christian Universities lay great stress on character and integrity. Because of this fact and the high standard of care for students mentioned above, one large employer of industry told me that in selecting members for his staff his policy was to choose in the following order :
 - (i) Christians from Christian Universities.
 - (ii) Non-Christians from Christian Universities.
 - (iii) Christians from Government Universities.
 - (iv) Non-Christians from Government Universities.
4. Whereas America has always taken a considerable interest in these Universities, all the Presidents of the Christian Universities, whom I know per-

* Summary of a speech concerning the Christian Universities of China made by the Right Rev. R. O. Hall, Bishop of Hongkong, at a lunch given by the Right Hon. Lord Luke on May 9, 1947.

sonally, are eager that Great Britain should take a larger share in the teaching and life of these Universities.

5. These Universities, though recognized by Government, are mainly dependent upon non-Government sources of income.
6. These Christian Universities are life-lines as between China and Great Britain and China and America.
7. In spite of appalling conditions, these Christian Universities have kept going in an amazing way and have fully maintained their service to China.

For these and other reasons, I am convinced that we in this country should, during the next ten or twenty years, give substantial help to these Universities by maintaining "Chairs," and in this way give security to some of the best professors, whether of Engineering, Medicine, Science, History or English, etc., and that such an act would be enormously appreciated by these Universities. Further, that if such "Chairs" were called after the names of such University towns as London, Oxford, Cambridge, Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Edinburgh, Glasgow, etc., such "Chairs" would be regarded as expressions of goodwill on the part of Great Britain.

In spite of the cruel difficulties of the present time, I believe *now is the time* to begin to do what we can, because, in my short experience of China (only twenty-five years), the "attractiveness" of Britain to the cultured people of China has never been higher than it is today. The fact that we no longer have naval vessels stationed in the Yangtze and the fact that the main political burden has been taken over by America from us, means that these things do not loom so large as they did, and that the quality of British public life, the integrity of its educational and business standards, the capacity of the people to face difficulties with courage, are proving to be extraordinarily "attractive" to the Chinese people. This is a new form of prestige, which needs almost a new name.

Before I went to China I worked in a distressed area on the Tyneside; during my time in China I have seen much of the poor in her cities and villages. I know that the development of trade between our two countries will do a great deal to raise the standard of living in both of them. Now many of the students at present in the Christian Universities and those who will pass through them in the next ten years will inevitably play an important part in the economic and political life of the Chinese provinces, and in the main they will be the people who will give the orders for importing machinery and other things from Britain. Thus it is of the greatest importance that these students should be made conscious of British goodwill towards China, and this can hardly be more effectively realized than by establishing the fact that their Professor (in such and such a subject) holds a "Chair" which is supported by British industry.

I should like to add that I do not believe that these things are without spiritual significance. Generosity and goodwill towards a country in time of trouble has in itself a fundamental spiritual value, and perhaps it is for that reason above all that I am concerned that this plan should go forward.

SOME BRITISH I ADMIRE

IX.—T. STURGE MOORE

BY RANJEE G. SHAHANI

"THE death of Thomas Sturge Moore," Mr. John Masefield wrote a little while ago, "takes from us a poet and artist of rare gifts, a critic of delicate discrimination, a scholar of art and a man of loyal and devoted friendships." Perfectly true. Yet

the words, just and fair as they are somehow sadden me. How pleased Sturge Moore (by the way, he hated to be called Thomas Sturge Moore) would have been to hear them, or something like them, while he lived! Alas, he had no such luck. Indeed, he was disgracefully neglected. His writings scarcely sold; he was rarely discussed; and, worst of all, he had much difficulty in "placing" his books. Poor Sturge Moore lived and toiled in the shade. How are we to account for this?

In the field of poetry he was a solitary figure, obeying no laws but those of his own being. No school claimed him as its own; he could not be affiliated to this or that movement. He followed his own bent regardless of the eddies and whirlpools of fashion. It is hardly surprising that the younger generation, ever avid of novelty, found him slightly *passé*. In the hurry and bustle of our civilization, when everything must move at a maddening pace, a worshipper of beauty can excite little more than curiosity. People are apt to pass him by.

Most critics, led away by our facile levity and love for garish effect, have done Sturge Moore less than justice. He has been accused of being "too literary," "too cloistered," "altogether out of touch with contemporary life." By this is meant that he was not in the "swim"; that he was not a realist; that he was not a painter of actuality. To my mind all these are inverted compliments. Sturge Moore's serene and exquisitely chiselled art deliberately excluded all that fills our newspapers and titillates or drugs, as the case may be, the muddle-headed in every walk of life. He knew that to be *à la mode*—that is, to make concessions to the mob (the smart folk can be a mob too)—was to be all the sooner *démodé*. His concern was with beauty itself: he ever wooed like a lover.

It is "realistic" art that is on its trial. I am inclined to think that *this* is the only decadent art. It ignores the deeper impulses of man, to whom not only the sensible world but the intelligible and spiritual worlds are accessible. Supposing it were possible to make a lily that satisfied every demand of a botanist: what we have accomplished is to show that our objective is a natural species and not an idea; our "work of art" is not creative, but a mere substitute appealing to the senses. If insects can be deceived by painted flowers, why is it that they do not linger over the frauds? The more an image is true to nature the more it betrays the artist. We do not ask of him truth to reality, but truth to *his* reality, which is a very different matter. That it turns out to be our old friend idealism in a new guise hardly surprises us.

Sturge Moore never confused the two issues. He was always true to *his* reality. He knew that art is a form of life. Hence his work is of permanent value.

To appreciate fully his poetry, it will be expedient to spend a moment over his spiritual parentage. He was a child, on the one hand, of Matthew Arnold; and, on the other, of Flaubert. This pedigree throws much light on the growth of his spirit. He was a meticulous craftsman like his French predecessor—his ink waiting to drop from his pen; and he had the high seriousness of his English precursor—treating all things like a vision of the Holy Grail. Marmoreal perfection and a touch of consecration distinguished all that came from his pen. He wrote not a line that is trite in thought or ignoble in sentiment.

If I were asked to characterize his art in a few words I could not do better than adopt the following *pensée* of Maurice Barrès in his last *Cahier*:

Qu'était pour moi un Leconte de Lisle? Une école de volonté. Il se faisait, ou se faisait chez lui une idée de l'artiste; on y apprenait à dédaigner le succès vulgaire; à rechercher une belle exécution, et lui voulait en autre une idée élevée, de belle qualité.

This is exactly what one finds in Sturge Moore: much of his best work will be found in his *Selected Poems*—a book that is a pleasure to read.

Not a single piece in the collection is cheap, shallow or banal. Of course everyone will exercise his own taste in choosing particular poems to suit his needs. For my part, as I have little space to quote, I shall confine myself to a single poem. "The Gazelles," in my opinion, crystallizes his abounding poetic gifts. Sturge Moore can create a scene or picture with the delicate artistry of a skilled engraver. "The Gazelles" is a poem full of such exquisite touches. Consider:

They come, and their dainty pavilions pitch
 In some valley, beside a sinuous pool,
 Where a grove of cedars towers in which
 Herons have built, where the shade is cool.

Or again :

Delicious ladies with long dark hair,
 And soft dark eyes, and brows arched wide.

In quilted jacket, embroidered sash,
 And tent-like skirts of pleated lawn;
 While their silk-lined jewelled slippers flash
 Round bare feet bedded like pools at dawn.

These lines are worthy to rank with some of the finest pen-pictures of Keats or Tennyson. They are composed with a rare feeling for beauty, devoutly finished, simple and truly just. There are single lines of extreme beauty: they linger in the memory. Take, for instance :

Where the eye feeds long like a lover's gaze :
 or
 A crescent moon on the violet night,
 or
 Round bare feet bedded like pools at dawn :

These are dainty tracings in ivory. Indeed, the entire diction of the poem is superlative. The closing line—

Ineffectual herds of vanished delights—

not only charms the ear, but is the *finale* of a finished work of art.

The outstanding merit of Sturge Moore, however, lies not in his verbal felicities, but in the gracious union of æsthetic sensibility with brilliance of intellection. The following passage is illuminating :

Yet why are they born to roam and die?
 Can their beauty answer thy query, O soul?
 Nay, nor that of hopes which were born to fly,
 But whose pinions the common and coarse day stole.

Like that region of grassy hills outspread,
 A realm of our thoughts knows days and nights
 And summers and winters, and has fed
 Ineffectual herds of vanished delights.

A lesser thinker would have given us cheap moralizing. Not so Sturge Moore. He leaves us with an unsatisfied sense of mystery that heightens the value of the lines. Life, Sturge Moore seems to be saying, is saturated with the inexplicable. Is any doubt possible? To discern the fineness of his mind one need only turn to his notes, each one of which is a cameo of crystal thought. A single example will suffice :

As art only belongs to those who enjoy it, so also it belongs in a still higher degree to those whose joy can create with it. For in spiritual things there can be no exclusive ownership.

The entire passage should be pondered by those who attempt to think. It is worthy in itself of a lengthy dissertation.

The poem named "*Danæ*" is from a certain point of view his most striking effort. It may be enjoyed for its surely æsthetic charm, but to those who seek to delve deeper it will yield an abundant harvest. It shows how the poetic mind works. Sturge Moore confessed to me that it enshrines his entire æsthetic outlook. At the

time he wrote it, he explained, he was unaware of it. And when by this means he realized that poems are forms of life, I for one entirely agreed. Words we may think are living things; if you cut them they bleed.

Sturge Moore was probably the finest intelligence of his time that expressed itself in the medium of verse. There is more elemental brain-work in one of his pieces than in many a massive philosophical tome. He was a constitutional sceptic. He said to me on more than one occasion: "I have a horror of closing the door on anything. I would rather live with the unknown than the falsely known." In other words, he preferred a total uncertainty to a clever surmise. He believed in the charmed power of ignorance. (The child has it.) Ignorance, according to him, was even more far-reaching than knowledge, for it opened out infinite possibilities. "As soon as a thing becomes known," he used to say, "it becomes dead." Quite so. It is a paradox worthy of meditation that when a truth becomes a fact it loses all its intellectual value.

From all this it will be seen that Sturge Moore was a fine and original thinker. His critical studies such as *Armour for Aphrodite* and *Art and Life* are, in the opinion of some very good judges of literature, among the best things in the English language. But I have seen nothing quite like his *Provocations*—aphorisms on art and life. I am happy to think that it fell to my lot to help publish parts of these in *The Sufi*, *The Aryan Path*, and elsewhere. The book, however, never found a publisher. Very, very odd.

A year or so before his death Sturge Moore sent me for private reading a poetic dialogue called *Mountain Air*. He said in his usual frank way that it had been declined by several editors. I read it, and smiled grimly. Why, here was a masterpiece. I sent it from magazine to magazine until I succeeded in finding a home for it in *The Poetry Review*. I was pleased to find that many who read it shared my admiration for it. Perhaps others will turn to it. It is a real *bijou*.

Of Sturge Moore the man this is not the place to speak. I first met him in 1930— it was Sir William Rothenstein who introduced us—and we continued to be friends. The more intimately I knew him the better I liked and respected him. He never grumbled, though he had much to grumble about. His life wasn't a bed of roses, and he saw smaller men petted and cosseted by the public while he himself remained more or less ignored. But he knew the value of cheap success and fame. They were unimportant compared with inward calm; and this he possessed in ample measure. Indeed, he could look at himself and his achievements with complete, or nearly complete, detachment. (He knew, for instance, that he had a defective ear and a Europe-bound vision.) But what drew me to him was his loyalty and utter frankness. He trusted, so we trusted him. He never said pretty nullities about our writings, but always the truth, however unpleasant it was. I recall an occasion when a youthful essay of mine on Shakespeare so annoyed him that he flayed me alive in a beautiful sonnet. I wish I had not lost this in France. But when he praised our work it meant a great deal to us; for we knew that we were getting the considered opinion of an exceptionally deep and subtle spirit. I confess that I awaited his verdict on my books with impatience. He at once went to the root of the matter, and his suggestions and criticisms were always illuminating. Indeed, many of his letters to me are full of wisdom. I may perhaps mention here a peculiarity of his: he was a worse speller than Yeats, and he had no notion of punctuation. On the other hand, style had no secrets for him, and he had a special sense for the ethos and aroma of words. In fact, as he once wrote to me, he could not read anything without a violent itch to make corrections here and there. I have seen his improvements of Robert Bridges and A.E. I believe he would not have minded correcting Shakespeare himself. . . .

In philosophy, too, he was hard to please. For many famous thinkers he had nothing but contempt. "Why can't these fellows talk like human beings?" he would say. In brief, he was a man of absolute integrity. Whatever offended his sense of proportion had to go. He saw deeper than most of his contemporaries, but it never occurred to him to set up shop as a professional prophet. Grandiose schemes for the transformation of the world made him laugh. A particular good in a particular place, he would say, is the only test of honesty. "Leave the great insoluble

problems to the least attentive minds. Love beauty, truth, goodness and holiness wherever you find them." Such was his advice.

And now he is gone to explore the dust and the shadow. Never again shall we hear his merry laugh. Still is that grave and gentle voice that conveyed so much in a few words. Ended are the pleasant Friday "bachelor evenings" at 40, Well Walk, when a few kindred spirits gathered together to discuss art, life and philosophy over coffee and cigarettes. Everything passes. I sigh. Grief is the only garland that the living can offer the dead.

A VISIT TO THE AINU IN SOUTHERN SAKHALIN (1946)

BY PROFESSOR N. YAKOVLEV

THE Ainu, an ancient island people inhabiting the Japanese Archipelago, Southern Sakhalin and the Kuriles, continue to interest scientists by the mystery of their origin. The British scholar, John Batchelor,* who spent most of his life on the island of Hokkaido, considers them to be representatives of the Aryan race, who by some miracle found themselves amongst the aboriginal inhabitants of Asia—the Mongols and the Malaysians. The well-known Soviet authority, L. Sternberg,† considers them to be related to the Australoids.

However that may be, the question of the origin of the Ainu and their language still remains unsolved. Already in the third century before our era the Ainu were unquestionably known to inhabit the territory of the entire Japanese archipelago, and only as the result of many centuries of blood wars and forcible assimilation the ancestors of the modern Japanese succeeded in gradually pushing back these, in their opinion, "nothern barbarians" to the island of Hokkaido.

The Ainu call themselves simply "people." The word "Ainu" in their language means "man." The Russians, who first found the Ainu on the Kuriles in the eighteenth century, called them "Kurileans."

In the autumn of 1945, as soon as the Soviet Army had liberated Southern Sakhalin from the Japanese occupation, Soviet scientists commenced a study of the history of the Ainu, who had been under the yoke of Japanese militarism since 1905. It was decided to organize an expedition which I was appointed to head.

The main object of our trip to Southern Sakhalin was to establish preliminary data about the presence of Ainu tribes on this territory. I personally visited all the Ainu settlements, and in each of them established the size of the population and the degree to which their original language and customs had been preserved. This task was made easier by the fact that the Ainu live along the eastern and western coasts only, near the very shores of the island, still preserving their ancient traditional occupation—fishing and hunting amphibians. The original Ainu settlers particularly favoured the sandy isthmuses, which divide the sea from the large fresh-water lagoons, the shores of the canals connecting the sea with these lagoons, or of the broad, shallow bays in which the fish abound. Still today many Ainu villages are found along the coast in corresponding spots, and many Japanese ports, towns

* J. Batchelor, *The Ainu and Their Folklore*. London. 1901.

† L. Sternberg, *The Problem of the Ainu*. (Papers of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, vol. 8, 1929.)

and villages bear ancient Ainu names: O'Tomari* ("Honored Bay"), Tomari-oru ("steep-banked bay"), Taran-Tomari ("the bay abounding in the fish," "tara"), Taraika, Kotanka,† and so forth.

The original Ainu settlements were small camps, consisting of a few houses, known in Ainu as "kotan," scattered all along the coastline. Enquiries brought to light the subsequent fate of the Ainu settlements on Sakhalin. When, in 1875, the Tsarist government exchanged the Kuriles for Southern Sakhalin, the Japanese, leaving the islands, carried off a part of the Ainu population to Hokkaido. After the Portsmouth Treaty, in 1905, when the Japanese occupied Southern Sakhalin, these Sakhalin Ainus began to return from Hokkaido to their old home, and today the Sakhalin Ainu call them "Hokkaido-Ainu."

Subsequently, when the Japanese Government declared the Sakhalin fisheries a monopoly and began to rent them out to the big fishing firms, the Ainu villages interfered with the "freedom" of fishing. The Japanese Government, accordingly, forcibly resettled all the small Ainu villages to a few large settlements from which the Ainu were permitted to fish. These "privileges," however, displeased the Japanese fishermen, and soon they began to push the Ainu out of their villages. In many of the settlements, where the fishing was profitable, the Ainu found themselves in a minority and were forced to live in a sort of "ghetto"—*i.e.*, special Ainu quarters. The headman of such a settlement was usually a Japanese.

The history of the Ainu's misfortunes would be incomplete without mention of the fact that before the surrender of the Japanese on Southern Sakhalin, the latter attempted to force the Ainu to evacuate. All Ainu were ordered to leave their dwellings and gather in Port Maoku to embark for Hokkaido with the Japanese. However, when the Japanese evacuation failed, the Ainu hurriedly returned to their homes. A part of their belongings was looted by the Japanese. Incidentally, this was the sum total of the "measures" taken by the Japanese Government for the Ainu.

Despite a certain isolation of the Ainu, even in villages where they form the majority of the native population only the older generation recall the native tongue. As a result of the forced Japanization the young people no longer speak or understand Ainu. In their daily life the Ainu have also adopted Japanese habits and customs. The interior furnishings of their dwellings differ from those of the Japanese only in that they are poorer and that a few Ainu details have been preserved. Their houses are just as bare of furniture as the Japanese; the same, low round table on four legs, only larger and more coarsely made; the same pillows, serving as chairs, and beds spread on the floor; sometimes you will find low, roughly-made stools; factory-made Japanese crockery has replaced the old wooden carved vessels, which are now only to be found in the lumber-room built under one roof with the dwelling; men and women wear Japanese garments; only hidden away in the old people's trunks will you find an Ainu shirt, trimmed with floral embroidered ornaments; more rarely still older and more primitive shirts of nettle hemp with nielloed shoulders are found. Here and there the national musical instrument is found—the *tonguri* or *tongari* (compare the Georgian "*chonguri*" and the Turko-Tatar "*dongur*"), a form of plucked oblong balalaika or guitar with a boat-shaped sounding-board. Very rarely we find a bow, not of the simple ancient type but the more complicated, paleasiatic or Japanese form.

In ancient times there was in the centre of the Ainu living-room an open fireplace, above which a cast-iron (or still earlier bast-woven) kettle was suspended from a beam driven into the house from one side. Today, as though in memory of this hearth, a square strewn with ashes and sand is partitioned off by boards in the middle of the room, and on it stands a large cast-iron stove with an iron pipe.

* The Ainu regard the word "tomari"—*i.e.*, "bay"—as their own, although it may be translated into Japanese as "camp."

† It is interesting to note that the Ainu word "kotan" coincides with the Turko-Tatar "kotan" or "kutan," a camp, the temporary habitation of shepherds, and the Mongolian "khoton" meaning a city or village.

In many villages, however, the Ainu still observe their heathen cult, although they have long given up celebrating the "feast of the bear."* All their gods are divided into two categories: "inau," a fetish, and "kamui," an animal hunted for its flesh or skin. In the "front" corner of the room, next to an image of Buddha (the Ainu willingly professed Orthodoxy or Buddhism, but during the war the Japanese imperialists prohibited all religions with the exception of Shinto) on a little shelf you will often see a number of little wooden sticks with curly shavings at the top intended to represent the "head," and with marks lower down for the eyes, mouth, navel and other orifices. This is meant to be the image of a little man—the patron god of fire and the hearth: "undzi inau" ("undzi" means "fire" in Ainu).

On one occasion we were shown three short pegs, joined together and slightly frizzled at the top, stuck into the sand of the fireplace to the left of the stove-door, and were told that this was "undzi inau." In one or two villages we succeeded in seeing "tsyup-inau," that is, long poles of young fir-trees with all the branches stripped off with the exception of two, left near the top and sometimes plaited into a circle or joined to form a cross. At the top of these poles several of the frizzle-headed little "undzi-inau" are sometimes hung. These in combination form a fetish representing the heavenly luminaries, the sun and the moon. In the Ainu language the latter are both called "tsyup," although sometimes a distinction is made by adding the word "day" or "night."

However, the real sun and moon belong to the category of "kamui"—*i.e.*, totems. The amphibians are also called "atuikamui"—*i.e.*, amphibian-totem. The Ainu make a distinction between the "poro atui kamui" or "large amphibian"—*i.e.*, the sea lion, and the "pon atui kamui" or "small amphibian"—*i.e.*, the seal. On the other hand, all the forest beasts are known to the Ainu as "yama kamui."† Formerly, the household "tsyup-inau" stood in front of every Ainu house. At the present time they are relegated to the backyards and are kept either near the cemetery or under an old tree-trunk in bundles.

In the cemetery which we saw in one of the Ainu villages we discovered on some of the old graves the half-decayed remnants of different objects and monuments in the form of carved wooden boards with floral or geometrical ornaments at the head. On one grave lay a half-decayed sled, indicating that the man buried here was a post-man and travelled by dog-sled in winter; on another, a piece of a child's cradle, meaning that a child lay buried there; and so forth. All the grave-mounds were carefully bordered with little pieces of tile or clay vessels, and their tops were strewn with fragments of the latter.

Our observations permitted us to come to the conclusion that the Ainu cult was of a clearly expressed totem-worshipping nature. The Ainu preferred animals hunted for meat or fur as their totems. At the same time, fetishism was also observed.

Under the Japanese the Ainu became a nation doomed to physical extinction. This was indicated both by the abnormal numerical proportion of the male and female population and, particularly, by the low percentage of children. Incidentally, this is explained by the barrenness of many Ainu women, caused by the hard physical toil under the yoke of Japanese imperialism. Finally, this was also indicated by the steady drop in the number of Ainu beyond the borders of Southern Sakhalin. According to Japanese statistics for 1937, the Ainu population of Southern Sakhalin equalled some 1,300, whereas at present, by the data collected by me, this number has dropped to around 1,200. On Hokkaido the number of Ainu dropped from 16,000 to 12,000.

* Owing to the shortage of meat, bear-meat was considered a great delicacy among the Ainu. At the same time the bear was a sacred animal, a totem. The Ainu would keep a captured bear-cub in a cage, feed it up, and kill it in November. This event was the traditional "feast of the bear."

† It is interesting to note that in the Ainu language "yama" means forest or taiga, whereas in Japanese it denotes a mountain. The origin of the Ainu word "kamui" is the word "kamu," "meat," the "i" ending denoting "meaty or meat-bearing." The Japanese "kami," a god, apparently came from the Ainu "kamui."

The Ainu population of the Kuriles is unknown. There also the Japanese resorted to forcible resettlement.

Physically, the Ainu differ from the Japanese. Their faces are trapezoidal with high cheek-bones and pointed chin, whereas the Japanese have oval faces. The skin of the Ainu is yark yellow, with a reddish tint on the cheek-bones, or dark olive (in the older women), whereas the Japanese are a pale yellow race. The Ainu have dark brown or black curly hair, and the Japanese straight, black hair. In old age the Ainu men are remarkably hirsute, the beards and whiskers being so heavy that the owners find it difficult to drink; this led to the introduction of a special wooden appliance, known as "ikunis," "whisker-holder," used during the cult rites. Still today the Ainu old men will hold their cups in the left hand and the "ikunis" in the right, and then with three smooth sweeping movements they will pour a libation of the drink to three corners of the compass, wetting the spoon-like end of the "ikunis" in the drink, and finally, raising their whiskers with the latter instrument, proceed to drink.

In the Japanese the whiskers and beard, even in the old men, are very sparse: I have seen old men with long but extremely thin beards. Incidentally, I noticed that an old Ainu, whom I saw changing his shirt, had absolutely hairless chest and shoulders. This, maybe, contradicts the traditional opinion of the "hairy Ainu," as described by some travellers. Nevertheless, in hair and face the Ainu more closely resemble a Caucasian race of Mongoloid type than the Japanese. The bearded faces of the old Ainu men recall the portraits of the Russian writer Leo Tolstoy in the last years of his life. It is not accidental that certain scientists have promoted the theory that the Ainu are an Aryan (*i.e.*, not Mongolian) race.

On an average the Ainu are taller than the Japanese and approach middle height. The first general impression of their appearance is sooner of a Palearctic than of a Malayan-Polynesian type.

With the reunion of Southern Sakhalin to the Soviet Union the Ainu population were freed from the yoke of Japanese imperialism; the road to physical renaissance and free national development opened wide before them. The Soviet Government is helping to strengthen the economic position of the Ainu as fishermen.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

POVERTY AND SOCIAL CHANGE. By Taralok Singh. (*Longmans.*) 6s.

(*Reviewed by* PROFESSOR ANWAR QURESHI)

This book is the result of several years' study in the villages of the Punjab by a young Indian Civil Service officer, who is a graduate of the London School of Economics. The main theme of the book is to improve the conditions of Indian agriculture and to secure a better standard of living for the Indian agriculturists. It is a well-known fact that at present the average holding is small and the technique of agricultural production is primitive. Efforts to improve the technique can hardly show any good results on these tiny holdings. The main task to which Mr. Singh addresses himself is how best to consolidate the holdings, and to give a more or less economic unit of holdings to each farmer, so that he is able to improve the technique. The older method, which has taken so very long and has yielded no very satisfactory results, is that efforts should be made either by co-operative consolidation societies or by the Government to persuade the farmers to voluntarily consolidate their holdings, and it was hoped that with the better unit of holding it would be possible to improve the technique of production. The scheme which Mr. Singh has outlined in his excellent little book is that the village organization of production should come under the control of a village council, and joint farming with joint capital should be carried on. The lands of the absentee farmers will be taken

over by the village organization, and they will be paid a share for their ownership from the joint pool. On the other hand, those who have no lands but work on the land will get an adequate share from the total production, while the third category of those who are both owners and workers will get two shares, one for being a worker and the other for being an owner. The scheme envisages that, as a result of better technique and organization, it will make many persons superfluous, and a good part of the book has been devoted to estimate the number of persons that will be displaced and the possibilities of finding alternative avenues of employment. To me this seems the most difficult and the least impressive part of the book. The task of finding alternative avenues of employment is not as easy even in an expanding economy as Mr. Singh imagines, especially when we have to bear in mind that the population of India increases by practically five millions every year. The most controversial part of the book is one which deals with the village organization and the ability to take charge of the whole labour force and organize the entire system of production and distribution. Mr. Singh feels optimistic about it, and he speaks with a certain amount of experience as a colonization officer who had the opportunity of discussing this scheme with various villagers, who he says were quite enthusiastic about it. I would personally have put a good deal of discount about a statement like this if it had come from an ordinary civil servant, because in their official capacity they are seldom able to get to the real thoughts of the people. The clear example is the fate of excellent experiments which Mr. Brayne carried out in Gurgaon district, and those attracted a good deal of attention all over the country, but the entire edifice crumbled when Mr. Brayne left the district. But Mr. Singh is certainly in a very good position to judge the mind of the Punjab farmer, as he is himself a Punjabi and belongs to the land-owning stock, and has lived in the Punjab villages.

In spite of certain doubts about the practicability of his scheme, I strongly recommend his book as a pioneering study in a field which deserves our most considerate attention.

I cannot help concluding this review by making an observation on the system of administration in India, which seldom allows any person to make useful contribution in the field in which he is fitted by his talents and aptitude. Mr. Singh has been taken away from the Punjab, where he was doing useful work and experimenting with these schemes, and has been given various changing posts in the central secretariat at Delhi.

PLANNING THE COUNTRYSIDE. By Radhakamal Mukerjee. (Bombay: *Hind Kitabs*.) Rs. 7-8.

(Reviewed by PROFESSOR ANWAR QURESHI)

I was very glad when the editor of the ASIATIC REVIEW handed over this book to me for review, as I had seen previous notices of this work and was looking forward to reading it. Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee is one of the leading economists of India, and especially one of the very few who have specialized in the economics of agriculture. Therefore, his name commands respect, and a book dealing with the planning of countryside is of great interest to all those who are interested in this important problem. But it deals with economic reconstruction in an Indian State—Gwalior—and is of less interest to persons outside that State.

CHINA MOULDED BY CONFUCIUS. By F. T. Cheng, LL.D. (*Stevens and Sons*.) 18s. net.

(Reviewed by D. W. HSIUNG)

When we hear that the Chinese Ambassador in London has written a book about his own country we naturally expect it to be about the present affairs in China. It would be about the differences between the Communists and Kuomintang, the intervention of the U.S.A. and the Soviet attitude. But one look at the book's title has confounded all our expectations. Further, when we have turned over its

pages, we discover that nine-tenths of the book are under sub-titles such as Religion, Philosophy, Literature, Art and Music; "Ha! A diplomat turned scholar," we exclaim to ourselves, and start to read the first sentence, which is:

"What mankind owes to the Second World War is a lesson and a better world to be reconstructed."

This sentence, as we can see, has two notes, which are:

This will be appraised by the historian.

Man never is, but always to be blest.

A. POPE: *Essay on Man*, Epistle I, l. 96.

No, we are wrong again: his Excellency F. T. Cheng is not a diplomat turned scholar, he is born a scholar; we feel that scholarship is in his soul.

There is a saying that all great scholars are pedants and all great politicians scoundrels; but, we are happy to say, his Excellency is neither the one nor the other. Far from pedantic, his book is full of bold generalizations. Far from being a scoundrel, the author is the incarnation of political virtue. Let us give a few examples to verify judgments. In his chapter on Literature we find the following: "The art of a country may be lost or perish; its literature remains. In this respect literature has a more permanent value than art. Happy therefore are the Chinese, whose country, if rich in art is even richer in literature." Now some people may say that art is immortal and literature is included in art. If art is confined to visual art, and paintings and statues can be lost or perish, then books can suffer from the same fate. But these objections do not concern us. We quoted the passage to prove that the author is not a pedantic scholar. No; somebody who declares that China is richer in literature than in art is employing bold diplomacy rather than minute scholarship.

In the introduction, however, Dr. Cheng's diplomacy is better described as virtuous than bold. Nobody but a truly virtuous descendant of Confucius can be so pleased and gratified by the "generous words" expressed by the London *Times* as a tribute to China's unflinching resistance against Japan. Furthermore, the noble Ambassador believes that now, because the Western Powers are very interested in China politically, it is a sign that world interest in Chinese civilization has been awakened.

The most important and the most interesting part of the book is, of course, the chapters on Religion and Philosophy. There are many Westerners who either do not believe that the Chinese have a religion, or say that Chinese religion and Chinese philosophy are the same thing. Many an eminent Chinese has taken pains in vain to try to convince such people that the Chinese have a religion separate from their philosophy just as the West, and our author is too wise to waste too much of his time to follow their example. He just has two chapters, the first one under the title of Religion, the second under Philosophy, and these are full of very valuable painstaking translations from Chinese classics. It is here we find a surprisingly good passage when, after quoting many sayings of Mencius on politics, Dr. Cheng proceeds to inform us that the basic conception of Chinese political philosophy has always been diplomatic, and because of that the political writings of both Confucius and Mencius can never be obsolete. They are invaluable for all time. From this and other such observations, we discern an author who is deep-rooted in the learnings of both the East and West, and who is well aware of the world around him. Moreover, we feel he is a man extremely virtuous and large-hearted, and such a man cannot but write a book full of goodwill and honest intentions, which deserves every success from the general public.

GOOD-BYE INDIA. By Sir Henry Sharp. (*Oxford University Press.*) 12s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by EDWIN HAWARD)

This farewell and tribute by a distinguished official, who not only worked for India but lived in it, makes delightful reading. It does not attempt to deal more than elusively with the political complexities which, in the fashion of the day, are studied as components of the Indian problem. Yet, especially in its passing comments on education, in which Sir Henry was a foremost expert, it may be read with profit by present-day students. They may thereby learn something of the problem itself; they certainly should be able to sense the atmosphere of the India which the author and his generation served so well. Glimpses of the social life of the British and their Indian friends, snapshots of the simpler joys of small-game shooting, culminating in the triumphant return to camp with proceeds for a pigeon-pie at the cost of one cartridge. Then there is the graphic account of famine at close quarters, for the author was famine relief officer, like so many of his colleagues, at one time in his career. The operations of the famine code in turning the topied bureaucrat into a glorified nurserymaid are well illustrated by the story of how, among the Gonds, the despairing mothers made him the unwitting recipient into his care of a large number of orphan children. When he had secured the necessary refreshment for his large and suddenly acquired family he proposed to transfer the brood to the missionaries. This pricked the bubble; the mothers surrounded the *cortège* and seized their respective children, and thus had to confess that the status of orphans had been given to them merely because they knew that that was the only means whereby they could get food and milk. The children returned to their rightful owners amid the friendliest interchange of jest and explanation.

Simla, of course, has appropriate attention from one who, in the latter stage of his career, was one of Simla's best-loved residents. Anecdote does not mar the scholarly lightness of the pen pictures of this pleasant book. There is just the right seasoning of the incidental yarn which no traveller can resist. Perhaps a single example may be forgiven in noting the resourcefulness of the subaltern who decided to protect the mess against the Colonel's interminable stories of big-game shooting, each of those stories opening with the words, "When I was in Bhopal." The night on which the blow for freedom was struck prompted the subaltern to break into the silence following yet another of the customary stories with the remark, "When I was in Seringapatam—" To the Colonel's interruption, "And when, Sir, were you in Seringapatam?" the wicked lad replied, "About the same time that you were in Bhopal." The mess heard no more stories from the Colonel.

IN SEVENTY DAYS. By E. M. Glover. (*Frederick Muller.*)

(Reviewed by SIR GEOFFREY CATOR.)

Mr. E. M. Glover, managing editor of the important *Tribune* group of Malayan newspapers, has written an interesting and straightforward account of Malaya as he saw it in the years immediately preceding the war and of the disastrous Malayan campaign.

The book, except the final chapter, was written shortly after Mr. Glover's escape from Singapore, a few days before the surrender, and is interesting as expressing, on the whole with moderation and restraint, the immediate reactions of a competent and experienced observer.

Mr. Glover does not move far from the beaten track—no doubt his professional preoccupations made this impossible—and it would be difficult for a reader of the earlier part of the book to realize that Malaya does not consist solely of a string of towns.

Mr. Glover does not pose as, or claim to be, a military expert, but he gives a good and honest account of the campaign as seen from the editorial chair in Singapore.

He is severe on the shortcoming of the civil administration, and on the obscurity

and lack of candour of the communiqués, and on the failure to make adequate use of the loyalty of the population.

There are, no doubt, answers to all Mr. Glover's complaints, but he presents his case frankly, honestly and without rancour, and his book deserves an honourable place among the stories of this great catastrophe.

His final chapter provides the vindication of British rule in Malaya, whatever may have been its failures and shortcomings.

CHINESE FAMILY AND SOCIETY. By Olga Lang. (*Yale University Press. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege.*) 22s. net.

(Reviewed by EDWIN HAWARD)

The painful process of China's transition from the mediæval society of her empire to a modern democracy has been undergone in a period marked by two World Wars, in the second of which China has been one of the outstanding victims.

China's ability to withstand stress and strain of these cataclysmic happenings has been attributed frequently to the fundamental stability of the Chinese family system. Olga Lang has therefore rendered a notable service to the study of Far Eastern affairs by carrying out a careful survey of this sociological problem. It naturally brings within the scope of her book an examination of the social and economic backgrounds and her patient research has enabled her to produce a valuable treatise. She points out that the suddenness of changes in China inflicted on the people those ills which in the process of change are derived from initial maladjustment and suffering. The old patriarchal family is, in her view, being replaced by a family in which more well-being and new horizons are opened to its members. It would seem as if China with her old capacity for a compromise has allowed modernism to enter without destroying the virtues of her old traditions.

Although China is no longer the country where the old man reigns supreme, children feel, as in the West, that they have not only duties but rights. Obedience to the parent is still a very marked characteristic of Chinese life than it is in other countries. The emancipation of women, particularly in the abolition of the ghastly practice of foot-binding, has been an important factor in progress. Yet women still have far less influence in public affairs than they have in the West. The greatest advances have been made by women who combine modern ideology with economic independence, and they are mainly "career" women and factory workers who have studied in progressive schools or taken part in modern organizations.

FOREIGN MUD. By Maurice Collis. (*Faber and Faber.*) 21s. net.

(Reviewed by D. N. HSIUNG)

I remember that when I was in an English school my interest used to be aroused by the fascinating history of England, and great was my admiration for a country so rich in political and imperial achievements. Reformers and empire builders followed each other in close succession; wars were won, lands were acquired, and honourable but profitable peace treaties were made. But when I reached the nineteenth century I looked forward to the opium war with a mixed feeling of excitement and embarrassment. I was greatly concerned and perturbed about how should my country figure in a conflict with this great nation. Was she to appear as another half-civilized country on whom England was forced to bring her pressure to bear?

As it happened, I was both relieved and disappointed when my teacher very tactfully skipped the event, remarking: "In 1840 there was the Anglo-Chinese Opium War. We need not waste our time on this unimportant event, as we have only a few weeks before our School Certificate, and a lot of more questions has to be crammed in before them. There is nothing to be proud of in this not very honour-

able war either, but we must remember that China was unreasonably anti-foreign at that time, and she rejected opium on that account rather than for any other reasons." Then, turning to me, he added, obviously for my benefit: "Of course we all know that China is quite different nowadays."

How right he was! It would have been foolish indeed to waste our time on this very unimportant event, which took only a walking part on the stage of English nineteenth-century history, especially when we had only a few weeks before the greatest occasion in every schoolboy's life.

However, my curiosity and desire were not satisfied. But it was in vain that I hunted through all my history books; nowhere was the Opium War allotted more than a paragraph or two, and the general tone and tendency seemed to be trying to forget this unfortunate and unimportant event. Yet how much more important is the same event to China. It was for her a war of great significance, while it amounted to not much more than an armed conflict for England. It could almost be counted as one of the greatest turning-points in Chinese history, for it was her first time to feel the stark realism of the modern machinery of the West, and it woke her up from a dream only to find herself left far behind by the "barbarians." Certainly nobody in China can afford to forget this unimportant event.

It was not until I read Mr. Collis's book that my curiosity and desire were satisfied. Here is an author not trying to forget, but bringing before the public eyes all the details of the imbroglio of the opium traffic, and its issues which resulted in war. I read the book with the intention of finding out the English point of view, but after I had read it I felt like someone who had just been to a law court and heard both sides of a complicated case put forward by two skilful lawyers. But to compare Mr. Collis to a skilful lawyer, or even to two skilful lawyers, would be a gross injustice. Not only has he a clear understanding of the whole situation, but he has also what most lawyers or even some historians often lack, a wide human understanding; and with his eloquent style, vivid and lively descriptions, he offers us most pleasant and even exciting reading in a book heavy with historical facts and evidences. Each incident becomes a human drama, and all historical personages become our intimate friends, whether they are Chinese or English. If we possess even a part of the author's understanding and sense of humour, we cannot but feel sympathetic towards all his characters, whether he is a corrupt Chinese official, a mercenary but good-natured Hong merchant, an English smuggler, the arrogant Lord Napier, the cautious and well-meaning Captain Elliot, or our noble Lord Palmerston.

Mr. Collis has told us all that is to be told, and to quote his own words in the Introduction: "When all has been said there will be found little malice, little cause for moralizing, but a great deal of humanity."

CORRESPONDENCE

The Director of Information, Travancore State, writes:

The paper, under the caption "The Place of the Indian Christian Community in the New India," by Mr. S. D. Malaiperuman, read at a meeting of the East India Association on October 17, 1946, and published in the January, 1947, issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, contains certain statements which are incorrect and misleading with regard to the position of Christians in Travancore.

No legislation affecting Christians as such has been enacted in the State. The restrictions referred to in respect of the erection of churches and cemeteries are neither new nor intended to hamper the religious freedom of the Christians. There are no doubt some rules which regulate the use of places of public worship, but these apply alike to the erection of churches, temples and mosques, and are intended to preserve public law and order and to avoid communal clashes among persons professing different religions or persons following different denominations of the same religion. In fact, it has very often been the case that Government have been constrained to uphold objections raised to the construction of new churches of a

particular Christian denomination in close vicinity to existing churches belonging to a different denomination. Similarly, the rules relating to new cemeteries are also promulgated only on public health considerations and for public convenience. Such legislation is not peculiar to Travancore, and it is absolutely incorrect to state that these rules amount to a complete ban on any new church or cemetery. On the other hand, during the past ten years Government have sanctioned the erection of over 100 churches, the total number of existing churches being over 2,150. The so-called "restrictions" are not new, but they have existed for over a hundred years now in regard to all places of public worship irrespective of religion or community.

It is false to state that a ban has been placed on meetings and Catholic processions of pilgrimage. Restriction orders on conducting meetings and taking out processions, passed under the Defence of Travancore Rules, apply to all the communities alike, and similar restrictions apply in other parts of India.

It is one of the fundamental rights of the people that elementary education should be free and compulsory and that the State should undertake responsibility in this matter. No restriction has been imposed on religious instruction in schools conducted by Christians. The only condition prescribed is that where religious instruction is imparted in denominational schools it should not be made compulsory in the case of pupils who do not belong to that denomination. There is no discrimination in this respect in favour of any particular religion. The rules apply alike to every creed or religious denomination. A Press Note issued on March 10, 1947, explains fully the position of Government.

The assumption that the Christians of Travancore have ever had to face any danger in the State is false and unfounded. It is generally acknowledged that they have prospered so well in Travancore that they form nearly one-third of the total population, and they exercise considerable influence over the economic and social life of the State, having been free from any disabilities of the character imposed now or in the past on Christians, Jews and other groups in some countries in Asia and Europe.

PRESS COMMUNIQUE

As a part of the programme of free and compulsory primary education for all boys and girls in the State, Government announced their decision to assume the entire responsibility for imparting that education. They nevertheless made it clear that if some communities felt bound by their tenets to conduct their own schools, Government would not object, and would even consider the grant of recognition and financial aid to such institutions provided they were run as denominational schools limiting admission to the children belonging to the respective communities, and provided also that they satisfied the educational requirements laid down by the Department of Education. Discussions have been proceeding during several months between certain ecclesiastical dignitaries of the Catholic Church and representatives of the Government regarding the future position of their schools in relation to the general scheme and having regard to the attitude of the Catholic Church in respect of the education of the followers of the Catholic faith. Finally, on February 19, 1947, the Most Rev. Dr. Mar Ivanios, Archbishop of Trivandrum, the Most Rev. Dr. Joseph Attipetty, Archbishop of Verapoly, and the Most Rev. Dr. Alexander Choolaparambil, Bishop of Kottayam, representing His Grace the Archbishop of Ernakulam, in a conference they had with the Director of Public Instruction, came to an agreement on the fundamental principles above-mentioned. The minutes of the conference were submitted to Government by the Director. In pursuance of the general policy enunciated above, which is in consonance with the declarations and statements made by Government in the past, and after having carefully considered the question in all its aspects and with special reference to the proposals embodied in the minutes, Government have been pleased to issue the following orders:

1. Primary schools under Catholic managements will hereafter be run as denominational schools confining admission to Catholic pupils only.
2. Such schools will be eligible for recognition and financial aid provided they satisfy the educational requirements prescribed by the Department.
3. Schools which were enjoying recognition and aid till Idavam 1121 will continue to get the same amount as financial aid. An additional amount of Rs. 15 will

be given to these schools when Class V is opened. No new primary schools will, however, be eligible for financial aid.

4. The extent of financial aid will depend upon the number of classes in each school.

5. The minimum strength of a class eligible for financial aid will be twenty. This number will be insisted on in Classes I and II from Idavam 1122, and progressively in Classes III, IV and V.

The above provisions will apply to primary schools in those areas only in which the Primary Education Act is implemented.

M. PADMANABHA PILLAI,
Secretary to Government.

HUZUR CUTCERRY, TRIVANDRUM.
March 10, 1947.

AN ANSWER TO ANDRÉ SURMER

This is an attempt to understand how from a background of facts, impartially viewed, there has grown up an atmosphere in which agreement between France and Viet-Nam will be hard to attain. And further it seeks to suggest a reply to the question with which M. Surmer concluded his article in the April issue—namely, what is President Ho Chi Minh waiting for before making peace with France?

1. *Pre-war Development.*—The situation in Indo-China before the war followed closely the general pattern of Western colonization in the East. The economic structure of the country was adjusted, not for the benefit of the inhabitants, but in order to coincide with the economics of the Mother Country. The main emphasis was on the production of agricultural and raw materials. No industrial development which might have endangered French firms was allowed. The main products, of which a large proportion were exported, were rice, rubber, coal and tin. High tariffs excluded from the country non-French goods, and there were rigid restrictions on the starting-up of commercial enterprises by non-French interests. Thus in the economic field we see the prolongation of a very low standard of living for the population.

It is not surprising, then, to discover that the growth of independence movements was not a new phenomenon which appeared under Japanese influence. 1916, 1927, 1930 saw nation-wide unrest in Tonkin, Annam and Cochinchina. There were uprisings in 1940, when France was defeated in the West. In 1941 the Japanese completed the occupation of Indo-China without any resistance from the French.

2. *The Japanese Occupation.*—Although a great deal of ridicule has been flung at the Japanese conception of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity sphere we, as Europeans, should be careful not to under-estimate its psychological effects in the S.E. parts of Asia. However we may view it, one important fact remains—that at this time these peoples first saw the real hope of throwing off their yoke. They saw the weaknesses, both moral and material, displayed as never before by their former masters; and, having tasted administrative powers themselves for the first time after eighty years, owing to the incompetence of the Japanese administration, knew themselves to be capable of wielding it for the benefit of their own peoples.

The main core of the Resistance in Indo-China was to be found precisely with the Viet-Nam revolutionaries. With the collapse of Japan and the Bao-Dai Government, the Viet-Nam took over under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh, a man who has devoted forty years of his life for the emancipation of his homeland, and on August 22, 1945, the Republic of Viet-Nam was proclaimed. The subsequent elections of January, 1946, showed a 97 per cent. vote for Ho Chi Minh.

In March, 1946, a preliminary agreement was reached, and the French Government recognized the Viet-Nam as a Free State within the French Union. Final negotiations were arranged to take place in France later in the year. But no sooner had the Viet-Nam delegation left their country for France than Admiral d'Argenlieu proclaimed the "Republic of Cochinchina" as independent from the Viet-Nam, and gave that "Republic" a French nominated "government." This was a breach

of the March Agreement, which had stipulated that a referendum should be held so that Cochinchina could decide whether or not she wanted to become part of Viet-Nam. Negotiations at the Fontainebleau Conference broke down. Nevertheless, before leaving France, President Ho Chi Minh did agree with the French Colonial Minister, Marius Moutet, on a *modus vivendi*, making considerable concessions to France.

That second agreement was due to come into force on October 30, 1946, but on September 10 the French High Commissioner for Tonkin issued a circular which practically ignored the authority of Viet-Nam in the field of customs and export, and amounted to a tentative strangulation of the Viet-Nam. In answer to protests from the Viet-Nam Government an ultimatum was sent by the French C.-in-C. in Tonkin, wholly unacceptable for the Viet-Nam. French provocations continued until December 18, when the conflict burst into open warfare.

That this method of settling the matter is not in the Viet-Nam interest is obvious, and President Ho Chi Minh *did* make repeated efforts to reopen talks. But the French Colonial Minister, Monsieur Moutet, failed to respond to Ho Chi Minh's broadcasts, and even to answer an authentic letter sent to him through neutral Consulates. Instead M. Moutet tried to manœuvre an alternative "government." And M. Bollaert, the newly appointed French High Commissioner, seems to have inherited the same ideas from his chief, since he has been spending nearly six weeks now in Indochina without having found the means of communicating with Ho Chi Minh, while Ho Chi Minh appeals to France for peace untiringly.

W. H. ALLCHIN.

OXFORD.

May 7, 1947.

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